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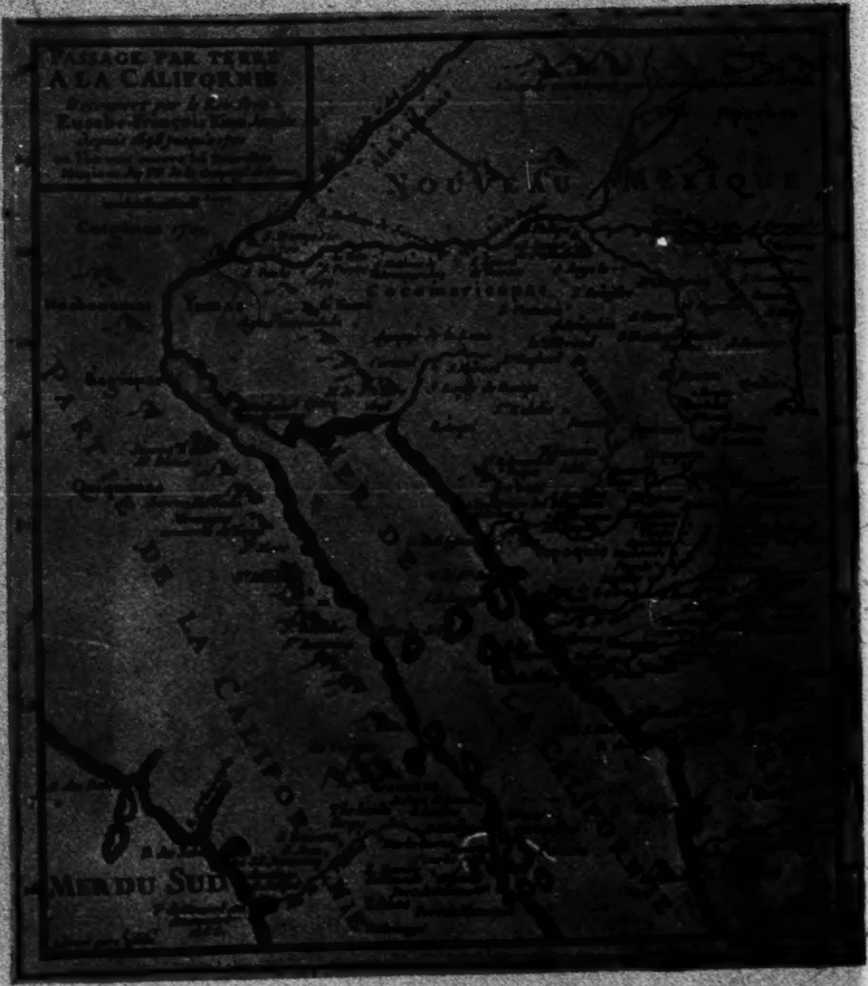
PASSAGE PAR TERRE
A LA CALIFORNIE
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
Cocomaricopas
Yumas
PARTIE DE LA CALIFORNIE
MER DU SUD

Earliest Print of Kino's Map of Pimeria Alta, 1705

KINO'S HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF PIMERÍA ALTA

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS OF CALIFORNIA, SONORA, AND ARIZONA, BY FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, S.J., PIONEER MISSIONARY EXPLORER, CARTOGRAPHER, AND RANCHMAN

1683-1711

PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO; TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
EDITED AND ANNOTATED, BY

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* In the original manuscript this Table of Contents is placed after the text, and occupies fourteen unnumbered pages, written in double columns. The last page bears the signature of Father Kino. It will be noted that the Table of Contents is not an exact copy of the headings distributed throughout the text, although the variations are unimportant in the main. In one or two places the numbering of the chapters in the original manuscript was inconsistent. This defect has been rectified by the editor, and certain other minor liberties have been taken.

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[b] The text reads "one hundred and fifty."

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* This figure records Kino's final conclusion regarding the latitude of the head of the Gulf. The text, written several years earlier, reads "thirty-five degrees."

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[4] Thirty-five leagues in the text.

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*The manuscript contains a heading, just preceding this, for which there is no corresponding chapter in the text. It reads "Chapter VI. Many others think it very desirable that I go to Mexico to obtain fathers." It has been omitted by the editor and the numbering adjusted to that of the text.

ILLUSTRATIONS

EARLIEST PRINT OF KINO'S MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA, 1705 . . . . *Frontispiece*

Two prints of the famous map, evidently from the same plate, appeared in the same year. One was in the *Mémoire de Trévoux* (May, 1705), p. 746, from which the print shown here is copied, and the other in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (V. Recueil, authorized January 27, 1705). The Spanish original of the map has never been printed. The assertion frequently made that Kino's map was published in 1701 is an error.

PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT AT SAN BRUNO, 1683 *facing page* 40

Drawn by Father Kino and hitherto unpublished. Transmitted by the viceroy, March 26, 1685. A. G. I. 1-1-3/22. Torres Lanzas, No. 77.

MAP OF THE PART OF LOWER CALIFORNIA WHERE ATONDO AND KINO LABORED, 1683-1685 49

Drawn by Father Kino, 1685. Transmitted to the King by the Viceroy, March 26, 1685, A. G. I. 1-1-3/21. Original 58 x 54 centimeters. Torres Lanzas, No. 76.

A LATER VERSION OF KINO'S MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA 331

Hitherto unpublished. A.G.I., 67-3-39. Original 51 x 40 centimeters. Torres Lanzas, No. 95; Lowery, p. 215. Certain data on the map shows it to be a middle or later 18th century reproduction.

PREFACE

In publishing this great memoir left by Father Kino I am carrying out, after two centuries, a hope expressed in 1705 by Father Tamburini, Father General of the Society of Jesus. Thanking Kino for his heroic work, to the humble missionary in the wilds of the Pacific Slope the dignitary wrote:

> I heartily rejoice that your Reverence may continue your treatise on those missions entitled *Celestial Favors*, the first part of which you sent us here. I hope to receive the other two parts which your Reverence promises, and that they may all be approved in Mexico, in order that they may be published.

The hope was justified by the merit of the work. Indeed, the rediscovery and the publication of this long lost manuscript, whose very existence has been disputed, puts on a new basis the early history of a large part of our Southwest.

The problem of the biographer of Father Kino will be to tell much in little, so many and long continued were his activities. He was great not only as missionary and church builder, but also as explorer and ranchman. By Kino or directly under his supervision missions were founded on both sides of the Sonora-Arizona boundary, on the Magdalena, Altar, Sonóita, and Santa Cruz Rivers. The occupation of California by the Jesuits was the direct result of Kino's former residence there and of his persistent efforts in its behalf, for it was from Kino that Salvatierra, founder of the permanent California missions, got his inspiration for that work.

To Kino is due the credit for first traversing in detail and accurately mapping the whole of Pimeria Alta, the name then applied to southern Arizona and northern Sonora. Considered quantitatively alone, his work of exploration was astounding. During his twenty-four years of residence at the mission of Dolores, between 1687 and 1711, he made more than fifty journeys inland, an average of more than two per year. These journeys varied from a hundred to nearly a thousand miles in length. They were all made either on foot or on horseback, chiefly the latter. In the course of them he crossed and recrossed repeatedly and at varying angles all of the two hundred miles of country between the Magdalena and the Gila and the two hundred and fifty miles between the San Pedro and the Colorado. When he first opened them nearly all his trails were either absolutely untrod by civilized man or had been altogether forgotten. They were made through countries inhabited by unknown tribes who might but fortunately did not offer him personal violence, though they sometimes proved too threatening for the nerve of his companions. One of his routes was over a forbidding, waterless waste, which has since become the graveyard of scores of travelers who have died of thirst because they lacked Father Kino's pioneering skill. I refer to the Camino del Diablo, or Devil's Highway, from Sonóita to the Gila. In the prosecution of these journeys Kino's energy and hardihood were almost beyond belief.

All the foregoing was the work of a man of action, and it was worthy work well done. But Kino also found time to write. Historians have long known and had access to a diary, three "relations," two or three letters, and a famous map, all by Kino, and all important for the history of the region where he worked. His map published in 1705 was the first of Pimería based on actual exploration, and for nearly a century and a half was the principal map of the region in existence. And there has now come to light, discovered by the present writer in the archives of Mexico, this vastly more important work – a complete history, written by Kino himself at his little mission of Dolores, covering nearly his whole career in America. It was known to and used by the early Jesuit historians, but has lain forgotten ever since. It is now found to be the source of practically all that has been known of the work of Kino and his companions, and to contain much that never has been known before. Kino, therefore, was not only the first great missionary, ranchman, explorer, and geographer of Pimería Alta, but his book was the first and will be for all time the principal history of his region during his quarter century.

The original of the manuscript here published was discovered by the editor some eleven years ago, after it had suffered a century and a half of oblivion. It was found in the Archivo General y Público, at Mexico City, where it comprises nearly the whole of volume 27, *Sección de Misiones.* The original contains four hundred and thirty-three small folio pages of text and a fourteen page table of contents. There is no doubt of its authenticity, for it bears three signatures of Father Kino, which correspond to those in original letters signed by him. More convincing still, it bears certain peculiarities of Father Kino's orthography, the result of his early education, which can not be mistaken.

The manuscript was written at different times over a long period of years, and consequently the handwriting changes. The Prologue and Part I are written in uniform ink and hand, which are the same as those of Father Kino's original diary of 1698, also discovered by the writer. Part II to page 214 is written in paler ink, with a coarser pen, and in a slightly different style of hand, which is clearly Father Kino's, nevertheless. From page 215 to page 264 the ink is darker, the hand finer, and more like that of Part I. The corrections in Part I are in the ink and hand of the early portion of Part II, which indicates that when Father Kino wrote Part II he revised Part I. Pages 265-338 are written in two different hands, clearly not Father Kino's, but bear corrections in Kino's hand. The remainder of the manuscript, from page 339 to the end, including the *Indice*, is again in Father Kino's handwriting.

Great care has been taken to secure a faithful copy of Kino's original manuscript, the making of the transcript being personally supervised by the editor himself and Dr. William Edward Dunn.

In preparing the manuscript for publication, effort has been made to apply the best rules of critical scholarship. Some liberties, perforce, have been taken. The paragraphing of the original has been retained in most cases, but in a few instances this was impracticable. The placing of the chapter headings, in which there was varied practice in the original, has been unified. Liberties dictated by the requirements of printing have been taken in the matter of placing the marginal headings. The numerous underscorings of words and passages in the original have been disregarded, since it is not certain by whom or under what circumstances they were inserted, and since the omission in no wise affects the meaning of the text. The original has been followed in the matter of accents and in the spelling of proper names, but capitalization and punctuation have been modernized. The peculiarities of spelling and the corruptions in Kino's Latin quotations have been retained.

The making of the translation has not been the smallest part of the editorial work. Indeed, "mere translation" is lightly regarded only by those who have never seriously tried it. Great care has been taken to make the English version both accurate and readable, an end not always easy of attainment. The translation was made jointly by Miss Elizabeth Howard West and the editor. A preliminary translation of the larger portion of the manuscript was first made by Miss West. With this draft as a base the editor has worked over the entire manuscript numerous times, and is responsible for the final form.

The Introduction is not intended as an exhaustive biography of Father Kino, but rather as a preparation for the reading of Kino's personal memoir, which follows. It falls into three fairly distinct parts. The early pages are based largely on new materials other than those here published, and may be regarded as a contribution to knowledge, since they for the first time make known the circumstances of Kino's coming to America, and follow his movements, largely unknown hitherto, from that time to his advent in Pimería Alta. From that point Kino's own memoir gives his career in detail, and in consequence the second part of the Introduction becomes an interpretation rather than a chronological narrative of the great missionary's principal life-work. The third portion is a bibliographical exposition and evaluation of Kino's memoir. The footnotes, besides providing the necessary aids for the student and giving supplementary information, call attention to frequent errors and gaps in the older and the standard modern histories which the publication of *Favores Celestiales* now enables us to correct or supply.

The preparation of this work for publication has been under way for some ten years. Meanwhile pressing duties have intervened and new material has been uncovered. It was planned to publish the original Spanish, but owing to uncertainties caused by the Great War, the publishers have deemed this inadvisable. The editor has gathered material for another volume or more of letters and diaries by Kino, which he hopes to publish later, if the interest in and support for the present volumes make such publication possible.

The editor's obligations for assistance are many and deep. The aid rendered by Dr. W. E. Dunn and Miss Elizabeth Howard West has already been mentioned. Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett has given extensive and most valued editorial assistance. The Reverend Father D. J. Kavanagh, S.J. of St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, has revised the translation of the scriptural passages. The Reverend Father Thomas Langry O'Neill, of Newman Hall, Berkeley, has assisted in many matters relating to Catholic practices. The Reverend Father Th. Pockstaller, S.J., has read all of the proofs, prepared most of the index, and given valuable criticism at many points. Dr. Charles H. Cunningham gave important aid in obtaining materials from the Archives of the Indies. Professors Herbert I. Priestley and Charles E. Chapman have given frequent counsel. The personal interest in the work manifested by His Grace, the Most Reverend Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco, has been a constant source of inspiration.

INTRODUCTION

One of the anomalies of historical study just now is the fact that the oldest fields are the newest. Ancient history, once thought to be an exhausted topic, is at present offering the freshest materials and the liveliest interests. Similarly, in the United States, the Southwest, once the best known and then an almost forgotten portion, is now the subject of a "revival of learning." This section was not only known, but books were written about it in the sixteenth century.[1] New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610.[2] Several eighteenth century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. And yet the serious study of the history and of the bibliography of historical writings relating to this region is still in its infancy.

Only with extreme difficulty can we of the twentieth century comprehend the spirit which inspired the first pioneers of the Southwest. We can understand why man should struggle to conquer the wilderness for the wealth which it will yield, but almost incomprehensible to most of us is the sixteenth century ideal which brought to this region its first agents of civilization—the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. These men came single minded, imbued with zeal for the saving of souls. Most of them were men of liberal education.

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[1] For example, Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, of which an edition appeared at Zamora in 1542 and another at Valladolid in 1555.

[2] Reference is made to Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Alcalá, 1610).

Many of them were of prominent families, and might have occupied positions of honor and distinction in Europe.

KINO COMES TO AMERICA

Peer of any of these noble spirited men was Father Kino, Apostle to the Pimas. Eusebio Francisco Kino, as he wrote his name, was born in the Valley of Nonsburg, near Trent, in the Austrian Province of Tyrol, on August 10, 1644. It is an interesting coincidence that his birth was in the same year that his intimate friend, disciple, and fellow worker, Juan María Salvatierra, was born at Milan.[*] It has generally been assumed that Kino's name was originally Kühn, but German scholars themselves claim otherwise. Sommervogel, whose *Bibliothèque* has the nature of an official publication, asserts that the name was Chino, as was affirmed to Father Melandri in 1870 by a member of the Chino family. This view is borne out by several contemporary letters published in German in Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*, where the name is given as Chinus and Chino. While in New Spain the Jesuit himself usually wrote his name Kino, and Spaniards sometimes spelled it Quino,[*] to preserve the hard sound of the *ch*, no doubt.

In point of nationality Kino is typical of a large class of the early Jesuit missionaries in Arizona, Sonora, and California. That is, although he was in the service of Spain, he was non-Spanish by blood and breeding. Among Kino's companions and successors, for example, we find Steiger, Keler, Sedelmayr, and Grashofer, whose names disclose their German origin; Goñi, Salvatierra, Picolo, and Ripaldini, bearing in their names the marks of their Italian extraction; and Januske and Lostinski, whose surnames stamp them as Bohemians.

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[*] Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, première partie*, vol. iv, 1044; Clavigero, *Historia de la Baja California*, 39; Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, 1819. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (vol. i, 250, *footnote*), inexactly gives the date as "about 1640."

[*] Sommervogel, *ibid.*, vol. iv, 1044; Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu*, erster band (Augsburg and Grätz, 1726).

Though his name was Italian in form, Kino's birth, education, and early associations were altogether German. His early education was acquired at Ala, in Tyrol, and later he studied in the universities of Ingolstadt and Freiburg. One of his teachers at the latter place whose instruction was long remembered and treasured was Father Adam Aygentler, author of a world map. Another of his instructors was Father Henry Scherer, author of the *Hierarchical Geography*[5] published at Munich in 1703, in which some of Kino's writings on California were incorporated.

The primary facts of Kino's entry into the Company of Jesus are set forth in the following extract from the original manuscript *Libro de Profesiones* of the Province of Mexico: "Native of Trent, born August 10, 1644; entered the Company in the Novitiate of Lansperga [Landsberg], of the Province of Upper Germany, Nov. 20, 1665; he made his vows; he finished his studies, made his third probation, and has taught grammar three years."[6]

Had he chosen to do so Kino might have enjoyed an honorable position, and perhaps even won fame in Europe, for during his student career at Freiburg and

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[5] Scherer, P. Henrico. *Geographia Hierarchica sive Status Ecclesiastici Romano-Catholici per Orbem Universum Distributi Succincta Descriptio Historico-Geographica. Authore P. Henrico Scherer, Societatis Jesu. Sumptibus Joannis Caspari Bencard, Bibliopolae Academiae Dilinganae. Monachii, Typis Mariae Magdalenae Rauchin, Viduae. Anno* MDCCIII. 4° pp. 8 n.n. 257, ind. di pp. 11, n.n. con antiporta.

[6] Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional, Adiciones y Correcciones* (1898), 592.

Ingolstadt he greatly distinguished himself in mathematics. In 1676, when the Duke of Bavaria and his father, the Elector, went from the electoral court at Munich to Ingolstadt, they engaged Kino in a discussion of mathematical sciences, with the result that he was offered a professorship in the University of Ingolstadt. But he preferred to become a missionary to heathen lands. To this, perhaps, he was inclined by family tradition, for he was a relative of Father Martini, famous missionary in the East and author of many works on China.

The decision to become a missionary was made when Kino was twenty-five, as the result of a serious illness. In his *Favores Celestiales* he tells us that "To the most glorious and most pious thaumaturgus and Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, we all owe very much. I owe him first my life, which I was caused to despair of by the physicians in the city of Hala, of Tirol, in the year 1669; second, my entry into the Company of Jesus; and third, my coming to these missions."[1] Another mark of Kino's gratitude for his recovery was the addition of Francisco to his name.

He had hoped to go to the Far East, literally to follow in the footsteps of his patron, but in 1678 there came a call for missionaries in New Spain, and thither he was sent instead. The exact date of Kino's arrival in Mexico has been a subject of conjecture and even of error by secondary writers, 1678, 1680, and 1681 being variously given. It will be seen below that the last date is the correct one.[2]

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[1] See volume I, 96-97. The date of his novitiate was 1665. Kino gives the date of his illness as 1669. In view of the great ease with which the figures 5 and 9 of the seventeenth century Spanish manuscripts become interchanged in transcribing, I suspect that the dates are one and the same, and that his becoming a Jesuit followed his illness.

[2] Thwaites [*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxviii, 333], gives the date 1678; Ban-

The circumstances of Kino's journey to America can be gleaned from Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*, a valuable but a much neglected source for American history.[9] In that work is published a letter to his father by Adam Gerstle, a Jesuit missionary who came to the New World in the same mission with Father Kino. From Sommervogel we learn that Kino set out for America in April, 1678. From Father Gerstle's letter we learn that he and eighteen others, including Father Kino, left Genoa on June 12, on two Genoese vessels. The band included Father Carolus Calvanese and Franciscus Borgia, Italians; Theophilus de Angelis, a Welshman; Andreas Mancker, Carolus Borango, and Adam Gerstle, Austrians; Joannes Tilpe, Joannes Strobach, Josephus Neuman, Mathias Cuculinus, Paulus Klein, Wenceslaus Christman, and Brother Simon Poruhradiski, Bohemians; Joannes Ratkay, Hungarian; Thomas Revell, Netherlander; Mathias Fischer (country not named); Antonius Kerschbaumer and Eusebius Franciscus Chinus, Tyrolese.

The vessels reached Alicante on the twenty-fifth of June. Early in the voyage they had experienced a heavy storm, and when near port were becalmed for several days. On the way they passed numerous vessels, and as each hove in sight they prepared to give it battle, but all proved to be friendly. From Alicante the companions went to Seville, which they reached too late to take passage in the fleet sailing to the West Indies.[10]

Father Gerstle's letter gives a very graphic account

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croft [*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 251], gives it 1680 or 1681; Beristáin [*Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*], and Sommervogel [*Bibliothèque*, vol. iv, 1044], say 1680; Ortega [*Hist. del Nayarit*, 264], correctly gives the date as 1681.

[9] *Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu.*

[10] "Brief P. Adami Gerstl, S. J. an seinem Vatter," Puebla, July 14, 1681, in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, num. 32.

of some phases of Seville life. He was especially interested in the monopoly of industry and commerce by the Dutch and the French, of the latter of whom forty thousand lived in Seville; in the amazing number of clergy and monastic houses there; in the prevalence of poverty and the multitude of beggars, of whom the archbishop regularly fed twenty-two thousand out of his income; in the crude skill of the blood-letters, at whose hands one of the nineteen, Father Fischer, succumbed; in the depreciation of silver on the arrival of a treasure fleet from America; in the crude methods of public execution, and the premature burials; and in the bull fights, in which the nobles participated and on which the Church frowned.

The delay in Spain was unexpectedly long. In 1679 some royal ships sailed for America, but as they went by the African coast to get slaves the Jesuits did not embark. Some private vessels also sailed, but their charge for the passage was higher than the Father Procurator was willing to pay, consequently they awaited the departure of the next royal fleet for the West Indies.

Late in March (the twenty-fifth) Gerstle and his companions returned to Cádiz, and on the eleventh of July the West Indian fleet sailed, convoyed by two armed galleons. But the vessel on which the eighteen Jesuits embarked foundered on a rock shortly after sailing, and they returned the same night to Cádiz on a small boat, the Tartana. The Father Procurator now bent every energy to get passage on one of the other vessels, and hurried back and forth between the port authorities and the admiral of the fleet. About two o'clock the next morning the sleeping band of Jesuits, now increased by two or three, were awakened by the Procurator, put on board a boat, and taken to the fleet, already outside the harbor. The first vessel overhauled consented to take Fathers Calvanese and Borgia; the second refused to take any; on the third embarked Fathers Tilpe and Mancker; on the fourth Father Borango and Father Zarzola, superior of the mission; on the fifth Fathers De Angelis and Ratkay; on the sixth Fathers Strobach and Neuman. Brother Poruhradiski, who had remained on the wrecked vessel with the Jesuits' baggage, also managed to find passage on the same ship with the superior. But twelve were left behind, among them being Fathers Cuculinus, Klein, Christman, Kerschbaumer, Chinus (Kino), Revell, and Gerstle.[11] It is this enumeration by Father Gerstle that gives us our clue to Father Kino's movements.

Father Gerstle and seven companions now returned to Seville to wait, and to minister during an epidemic. Father Kino evidently remained at Cádiz, where he observed the great comet which was visible there between December and February. Meanwhile the Father Procurator conducted a lawsuit to recover six thousand dollars paid in advance for passage in the wrecked vessel.

On January 16, 1681, Father Gerstle and his companions again left Seville for Cádiz, arriving on the eighteenth, and on the twenty-ninth they at last set sail for America. In the West Indies the fleet divided, according to custom, and eight of the eighteen companions went to New Granada, the rest continuing to Vera Cruz, which they reached after a rough voyage of over ninety days.

The above account is gleaned from the letter written by Father Gerstle at Puebla, on July 14, 1681. It confirms Father Ortega's statement that Kino arrived in America in 1681, Sommervogel and others to the contrary, notwithstanding. It, in turn, is circumstantially confirmed by the entry in the manuscript *Libro de Profesiones* of the Province of Mexico, which says of Fathers Kino and Revell: "They came from the Province of Austria and arrived at Veracruz on May 3, 1681."[18]

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[11] An account of the wreck and of the journey of some of the Fathers to America is given in "Brief Patris Mancker," Mexico, January 25, 1682, in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, num. 30, pp. 85-90.

The band of devoted Jesuits who had set out from Genoa together were destined to scatter to the ends of the earth. The story of their personal experiences in America and the islands of the western seas occupies large space in the pages of Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*. As has been stated, eight of the companions were sent to New Granada. Ten came to Mexico, whence some went to the Philippines and others to the Marianas Islands and to China. Fathers Borango, Tilpe, Strobach, De Angelis, and Cuculinus went to work among the heathen of the Marianas Islands, Father Tilpe still being there in 1703. Mancker and Klein went to the Philippines and Gerstle to China. Ratkay worked in Sonora, Neuman in Nueva Vizcaya, Kino in California, Sonora, and Arizona. Of the four who went to Marianas Islands, three—Borango, Strobach, and De Angelis—won the martyr's crown.[19]

Father Kino's mathematical knowledge brought him into prominence as soon as he arrived in Mexico, where he at once entered into a public discussion with the famous Jesuit scholar Sigüenza y Góngora, concerning the recent comet. One of the fruits of this discussion was a pamphlet published by Kino in Mexico in 1681 under the title: "Astronomical explanation of the comet which was seen all over the world during the months of November and December, 1680, and in January and February in this year of 1681, and which was observed in the city of Cádiz by Father Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus."[14]

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[18] Beristain, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional, Adiciones y Correcciones* (1898), pp. 390-391. Gerstle says that the voyage lasted ninety-six days, beginning January 29. Counting to May 3 would give only ninety-five days.

[19] See Stöcklein, "Vorrede des ersten Theils," and missionary letters by Borango (num. 2), Tilpe (num. 3, 64), Strobach (num. 4, num. 5), Cuculinus (num. 7, num. 8), Gerstle and Bonani (num. 9), Mancker (num. 12, num. 20), Ratkay (num. 28, num. 29), Gerstle (num. 31), Neumann (num. 32), Gilg (num. 33, num. 35), Klein (num. 37).

As a result of this debate Kino enjoyed the friendship of Sigüenza y Góngora. This was no small matter, for Sigüenza was a man of great intellect and of wide influence. The impression made by Father Kino on Sigüenza was shared by the viceroy, the Marqués de la Laguna,[15] and this in time led to further recognition.

KINO IN CALIFORNIA

Father Kino's first important missionary work in America was in Lower California. For two centuries and a half the Spaniards had made weak attempts to subdue and colonize that forbidding land. California had been discovered by one of Cortés's sailors in 1533. Two years later the great *conquistador* himself led a colony to the Peninsula, then thought to be an island and called Santa Cruz. The enterprise failed, but Cortés continued his explorations, and Ulloa, sent out by him in 1539, rounded the cape and proved Santa Cruz to be a peninsula. Henceforth it was called California. Three years later Cabrillo, in quest of the Strait of Anian, that is, the northern passage to the Atlantic in which everybody believed, explored the outer coast of California beyond Cape Mendocino.

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[14] *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa, que el Año de 1680, por los meses de Noviembre, y Diziembre, y este Año de 1681, por los Meses de Enero y Febrero, se ha visto en todo el mundo, y le ha observado en la Ciudad de Cadiz, El P. Eusebio Francisco Kino de la Compañia de Jesus.* Con licencia, en Mexico por Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1681, 4° ff. 28, 1 carte. This title is taken from Sommervogel [*Bibliothèque*, vol iv, 1044], who gives also the circumstances of the composition of the work. Bancroft gives the first word of the title as "Explicación" [*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 251], while Beristáin gives several other variations from the above form. The title alone proves that Kino arrived in Mexico in 1681. He saw the comet in Cádiz between November, 1680, and February, 1681, and, by implication, only in Cádiz; therefore he could not have reached Mexico while the comet was still visible.

[15] For the impression made by Kino on the viceroy, see the letter by Father Neumann, from Sisoguichic, Nueva Vizcaya, July 29, 1686, in *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, 106.

New interest in California followed the conquest of the Philippines by Legazpi (1565-1571); indeed, in the later sixteenth century California was as much an appendage of Manila as of Mexico. Legazpi's men discovered a practicable return route to America, down the California coast, and thereupon trade, conducted in the Manila galleon, was established between Manila and Acapulco. But the voyage was long, scurvy exacted heavy tribute of crews and passengers, and a port of call was sorely needed. English pirates, too, like Drake and Cavendish, infested the Pacific, and were followed by the Dutch Pichilingues. California, therefore, must be explored, protected, and peopled.

It was with these needs in view that Cermeño in 1595 made his disastrous voyage down the California coast; that Vizcaíno in 1597 attempted the settlement of La Paz, and in 1602 explored the outer coast; and that the king in 1606 ordered a settlement made at Monterey.

The Monterey project failed, but settlements and missions crept up the Sinaloa coast across the Gulf, and the pearl fisheries of California attracted attention, hence new attempts were made on the Peninsula. Having little cash to spare, the monarchs tried to make pearl fishing rights pay the cost of settlement and defense. In the course of the seventeenth century, therefore, numerous contracts were made with private adventurers. By the terms the patentees agreed to people California in return for a monopoly of pearl gathering. With nearly every expedition went missionaries, to convert and help tame the heathen. In pursuance of these agreements several attempts were made to settle, especially at La Paz, where Cortés and Vizcaino both had failed. Other expeditions were fitted out at royal expense. The names of Carbonel, Córdova, Ortega, Porter y Casanate, Piñadero, and Lucenilla all stand for seventeenth century failures to colonize California.

At first the natives of California had been docile, but they had been enslaved and abused by the pearl hunters, against the royal will, and had become suspicious and hostile, as later pioneers learned. Through various misunderstandings and incomplete explorations, in the course of the century California had again come to be regarded as an island.

In spite of the repeated failures, another attempt at settlement was decided upon. By an agreement of December, 1678, confirmed by a royal cédula of December 29, 1679, the enterprise was entrusted to Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón, governor of Sinaloa, who was now given the title of Admiral of the kingdom of the Californias.[10] The spiritual ministry, so important a part of every Spanish conquest, was assigned to the Jesuits, by agreement with the Father Provincial, Bernardo Pardo.

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[10] Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 219; *Autos sobre los Parages que ha descubierto en las Yslas Californias el Almirante don Ysidro de Atondo*, in *El Virey de la Nueva España da cuenta, etc.*, A.G.I., 1-1-2/31.

In the midst of Atondo's preparations Father Kino arrived in Mexico (in May, 1681), and was named, with Father Matías Goñi, missionary to California. Again Kino's mathematical learning was given recognition, for the viceroy made him royal cosmographer, that is, astronomer, surveyor, and map maker, of the expedition. Before leaving Mexico Kino prepared himself for his scientific task by studying California geography, borrowing maps for the purpose from the viceroy's palace and taking them to the Colegio Maximo of San Pedro y San Pablo to copy.[17]

It was expected that the expedition would sail in the fall of 1681, and before the end of the year Kino left the capital for his new field of labor. On November 15, presumably on his way through Guadalajara, he was made vicar of the Bishop of Nueva Galicia for California, Father Goñi being made his assistant. As the vessels for the expedition were being built by Atondo at Pueblo de Nío, near Villa de Sinaloa, thither Kino made his way, and there we find him in March, 1682.[18]

Kino now became involved, innocently, in a dispute over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in California between the bishops of Guadalajara and Durango.[19] Having already a commission as vicar of the former, because of the dispute, it would seem, he applied for and secured a similar commission from the latter.[20] This may or may not be the reason why Father Antonio Suárez was now made superior of the California mission, but so he was. Incident to the contest, Father Kino was ordered by the Bishop of Guadalajara to relinquish his commission from the rival bishop, and the question was terminated by the viceroy in favor of Guadalajara. By December 5 the vessels had left Sinaloa and were at Chacala, taking on supplies, and Fathers Suárez, Kino, and Goñi were there ready to embark. For some reason not given Father Suárez did not go to California, however, and Kino went as superior.[21]

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[17] See page 234. Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 229, conveys the impression that the royal *cédula* of December 29, 1679, named Kino cosmographer, but he is not mentioned in that document [*Baja California Cédulas*, Ms., Bancroft Library, 74]. The selection of the missionaries was doubtless made by the Provincial Father Pardo [Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 42-43]. See also Clavigero, 36; *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, cuarta série, vol. v, 11-12; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 186-187.

[18] These movements of Father Kino between his arrival in Mexico and his departure for California, hitherto unknown, are revealed by a manuscript *expediente* entitled *Sobre pertenencia del Gobierno Espiritual de Californias*, A.G.I., 67-4-2.

[19] *Expediente sobre pertenencia*; Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 27-28.

At last, on January 17, 1683, the expedition sailed. The voyage was difficult, the crew raw, and the vessels were driven into the harbor at Mazatlán. Two months after setting sail they entered the Sinaloa River,[22] well north of their objective point. From here they retraced their course, crossed the Gulf, and reached the coast near La Paz, already the site of so many failures. During the voyage the launch was lost and never reached port.[23]

On April 1 anchor was cast and a formal proclamation issued requiring good treatment of the Indians and regulating the gathering of precious metals and pearls, the two primary interests of the expedition. Next day a site was selected and a cross erected near a fine grove of palm trees and a good spring of water. On the fifth all disembarked with the royal standard, a salute was fired, three *vivas* were shouted for Charles II, and the admiral took possession for the king, calling the province Santísima Trinidad de la California. At the same time Fathers Kino and Goñi took ecclesiastical possession.[34]

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[20] His application was made at Pueblo de Nio, March 25, 1682. *Expediente sobre pertenencia.*

[21] Bancroft [*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 187] states that Father Goñi did not go with this expedition. This is a mistake, it being Father Copart and not Goñi who went later.

[22] March 18.

[23] "A Descent made by the Spaniards, in the Island of California," in Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i, 408-420. For other forms of this narrative see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 187, *footnote* 24. Some doubt was expressed as to whether or not this was the old Bay of La Paz (*ibid.*, 410). It was at any rate clearly the one now so-called.

A small fort was begun at once, and a log church and huts were erected. Sending the Concepción to the Río Yaqui for supplies, Atondo and Kino made minor explorations. The Indians near the settlement, though shy at first, soon became friendly, and Fathers Kino and Goñi began to study their language. The Guaycuros, toward the south, and enemies of the former, were hostile on the other hand, and by July 1 a state of war existed. The soldiers were now panic stricken, and clamored to abandon the settlement. "It is plain," says Father Venegas, that Atondo "had with him few like those courageous and hardened men who at an earlier day had subdued America." Since the Concepción had not returned, and supplies were consequently short, Atondo yielded, and on July 14 the San José weighed anchor, with all the Spaniards on board.

Atondo now went to the Sinaloa coast to refit, in order to make a new attempt farther up the California coast, where more promising lands and Indians had been reported. Setting sail again, on October 6 he landed with the missionaries and men at a bay called San Bruno, a few leagues north of La Paz. Here a new

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[34] The formal act of possession by Atondo is preserved for us in Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 43-45; that by Kino and Goñi is contained in *Sobre pertenencia*. Kino and Goñi both signed acts of possession. The dates given above are from the acts of possession, there being some discrepancy in the account given in Lockman.

DESCRIPTION DE LA FORTIFI
CACION Y R. DE S. BRVNO
DE CALIFORNIAS.

Plan of the Settlement at San Bruno, 1683

settlement was begun, the San José being sent for supplies and recruits and with dispatches for the viceroy.[illegible]

The routine of life at San Bruno from December 21, 1683, to May 8, 1684, can be gleaned from the detailed diary kept by Father Kino and preserved to us in the original in the archives of Mexico.[illegible] It begins with an account of an exploration by Father Kino and Ensign Contreras into the Sierra Giganta, to the west. The principal occupations at the little outpost of civilization were those connected with providing food, shelter, protection, and the conversion of the natives. The docile Indians labored willingly in building the fort, the houses, and the church, and brought such supplies as the sterile land afforded.

Father Kino's diary gives us a perfect picture of a true missionary, devoted heart and soul to the one object of converting and civilizing the natives, and for whom no task was too mean and no incident too trivial if it contributed to his main end. He was like the artist, or the true scholar, much of whose labor would be unbearable drudgery to one not inspired with the zeal of a devotee.

Kino regarded the poor natives as his personal wards. He loved them with a real affection, and he ever stood ready to minister to their bodily wants, or to defend them against false charges or harsh treatment. He dwelt with affection on all evidence of friendship shown by the Indians, and recorded every indication of their intelligence. He took sincere delight in instructing them, and in satisfying their childish curiosity re-

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[illegible] Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. I, 222-292; *Autos sobre los Parages.*

[illegible] *Tercera Entrada en 21 de Diciembre de 1683* (printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, cuarta série, vol. I, 405-468). Original manuscript in the archives of Mexico. The details are filled in by the *Autos sobre los Parages.*

garding such things as the compass, the sun dial, the lens with which he started fires, and the meaning of the symbols used in his maps.

The first task of the missionary was to win the confidence of the natives, and the direct way to their hearts was through their stomachs. Whenever a visit was made to an outlying ranchería, therefore, gifts of maize, *pinole*, and other eatables were carried for all natives who might be encountered. When strangers came from a distance they, too, were given presents. Confidence having been secured, the Indians would leave their boys with the missionaries, whose house was usually crowded with them over night. Thus was afforded a means of teaching them the Spanish language, and the rudimentary uses of clothing, and to recite the prayers, sing, and perform domestic duties. It was with the young that Kino was especially concerned, and whenever he made an excursion he was usually followed by a troop of Indian boys running by his side, trying to keep up, or crying if left behind. Often one or more urchins might be seen triumphantly mounted behind the Father on the haunches of his horse. Kino tells with zest how a young boy who was living at the mission resisted the efforts of his parents to take him away, calling for help on "Padre Eusebio."

Nothing gave Father Kino such true pleasure as some sign that an Indian was becoming interested in the Faith.[37] He dwells at length and with evident delight on the story of a little native girl who knelt before a picture of the Virgin and begged permission to hold the Christ Child; on the progress made by his charges in repeating the prayers, singing the *salve*, and reciting the litanies; and on their zeal in helping to decorate the crude church for the celebration of the feast days.

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[37] On the other hand he showed little interest in the tribal customs, which so engaged the attention of many missionaries.

Sometimes, as was true of all missionaries among the heathen, his ingenuity was put to the test to explain Christian concepts in the simple Indian language. A classic example is his own story of how he explained the Resurrection by reviving some apparently lifeless flies. When the astonished Indians shouted *Ibimu huegite* they had given the Father the native term for which he had been seeking.

On August 10 the San José at last returned, bringing twenty additional soldiers, supplies, and dispatches from the viceroy. At this time Father Juan Bautista Copart also came, and on August 15 Father Kino made final profession within the Jesuit Order in Father Copart's hands. An extended exploration across the mountains was now projected, and during the autumn the San José plied to and from the Yaqui River, bringing horses, mules, and supplies. On the first expedition, made between August 29 and September 25, Father Kino accompanied Captain Andrés, and secured aid from the mainland missions, particularly from Father Cervantes at Torín. Bancroft conjectures that Kino "probably remained in Sonora a year," but such was by no means the case.[30] On a subsequent trip Kino's place was taken by Father Goñi. While the San José was making her supply voyages a new post and mission were established a few leagues inland from San Bruno at the fine springs of San Isidro.

The expedition over the mountains was planned for December, but when it was ready to start some of the soldiers opposed it. The year had been one of extreme drought, both in California and on the mainland, and there was a serious lack of supplies. Both the Concepción and the launch had failed to appear, and the safety of the settlers depended on one small vessel, which was now about to leave for Mexico. The clamors of the faint-hearted, however, merely served to bring out that optimism which was one of Kino's strongest qualities, and in his letters to the viceroy he discounts the dismal prophesies of the malcontents.

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[30] *North Mexican States*, vol. I, 251. Bancroft's whole treatment of the subject here is hazy and inaccurate. Kino returned with Andrés on Sept. 25.

The San José sailed on December 14, bearing Father Copart, whose stay in California was therefore short, and on that day Atondo was at San Isidro ready to start on his expedition on the morrow, accompanied by Father Kino, twenty-nine soldiers and Indian guides, and taking eighty mules and horses. This expedition apparently did not succeed, but either it or another did, for Father Kino tells us that in 1685 he, with Atondo, crossed the mountains to the South Sea, in latitude twenty-six degrees, where he saw certain blue shells, which fifteen years later became an important factor in his further movements. Meanwhile the complaints of the soldiers grew stronger, and the tide of discontent could not be stemmed even by Father Kino's optimism. A council was held, and on May 7 Atondo, his men, and the missionaries again abandoned their settlement.[29]

For the remainder of the story of this enterprise we have hitherto been dependent chiefly upon Father Venegas's history, but we now have access to a file of contemporary letters by Fathers Kino and Goñi[30] which give us more exact information. On May 8 Atondo and Father Goñi, in a bilander, set sail for the port of San Ignacio, Sinaloa, to refit for a pearl gathering expedition to California. A few hours later Captain Guzmán and Father Kino, in the Concepción, steered for the Yaqui River, to refit for an expedition to explore the California coast in search of a better site further north. Equipping his launch, Atondo, with Father Goñi, recrossed the Gulf, and spent the greater part of August and September in pearl hunting, but with very slender results. By September 22 he had returned to San Ignacio.[31]

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[29] For the above events see *Autos sobre los Parages que ha descubierto.*

[30] *No. 30. El Obispo da quenta del estado en que esta la conquista de las Yslas Californias.* A.G.I. 67-3-28.

Landing at the Yaqui River mouth on May 11, Guzmán and Kino went with their party to recuperate at the mission of Father Cervantes at Torín, and on the nineteenth Kino went on to visit the Father Rector, Diego de Marquina, at the mission of Raun. At these missions supplies were gathered, and in June Guzmán and Kino sailed up the Gulf to the Seris coast. At Salsipuedes Father Kino spent three days with the natives, who begged him to remain among them, promising him horses, provisions, and aid in building a mission. This visit had a direct connection with Father Kino's advent later in Pimería Alta. On the way down the Gulf they explored the California coast for a short distance above San Bruno, where they stopped late in August,[32] finding the country now green, after the long drought, and the Indians anxious for their return. Encountering the admiral engaged in pearl fishing, on September 7 they again lost sight of him, and, being short of provisions, they sailed to Matanchel, arriving on September 17, and finding the San José there and well equipped for California, but with its captain dead. From Matanchel Father Kino went to Guadalajara, where on October 10 he wrote to the Bishop a long report, and made a fervent appeal for California.

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[31] Father Goñi to the Bishop of Guadalajara, on board the bilander, at San Ignacio, September 22, 1685, manuscript in *No. 30*. Venegas [*Noticia*, vol. i, 296] makes it appear that the settlement of San Bruno was removed by Atondo during this voyage, but from the contemporary correspondence it is clear that this is a mistake. It had already been abandoned in May.

[32] The twenty-eighth. Guzmán, Kino, and seven or eight soldiers landed.

Having returned to San Ignacio in September, Atondo received a despatch from the viceroy ordering him to maintain the California settlements already undertaken. But as the Concepción had gone to Matanchel with the soldiers and Father Kino, Atondo could do nothing but follow them thither.

On the last day of October Kino left Guadalajara to return to Matanchel and join Atondo. Just outside Compostela he met the admiral on his way to Mexico. When Kino reached Matanchel on November 12, he learned that by a despatch of October 31, predicated on the assumption that California had been abandoned, and that the fleet was without occupation, Atondo was ordered to go to meet the Manila galleon, warn it against Dutch pirates, and escort it to Acapulco. This news was most depressing to Father Kino, and again he addressed to the Bishop of Guadalajara an appeal for California.[illegible]

Atondo also returned to Matanchel, and on November 29 he and Kino sailed in the fleet to meet the galleon. Falling in with it next day, they convoyed it safely to Acapulco. Thence they proceeded to Mexico, where Father Kino lodged at the Casa Profesa. Early in February the viceroy held a council, before which reports on California by Atondo and Kino were read. It being concluded that California could not be subdued

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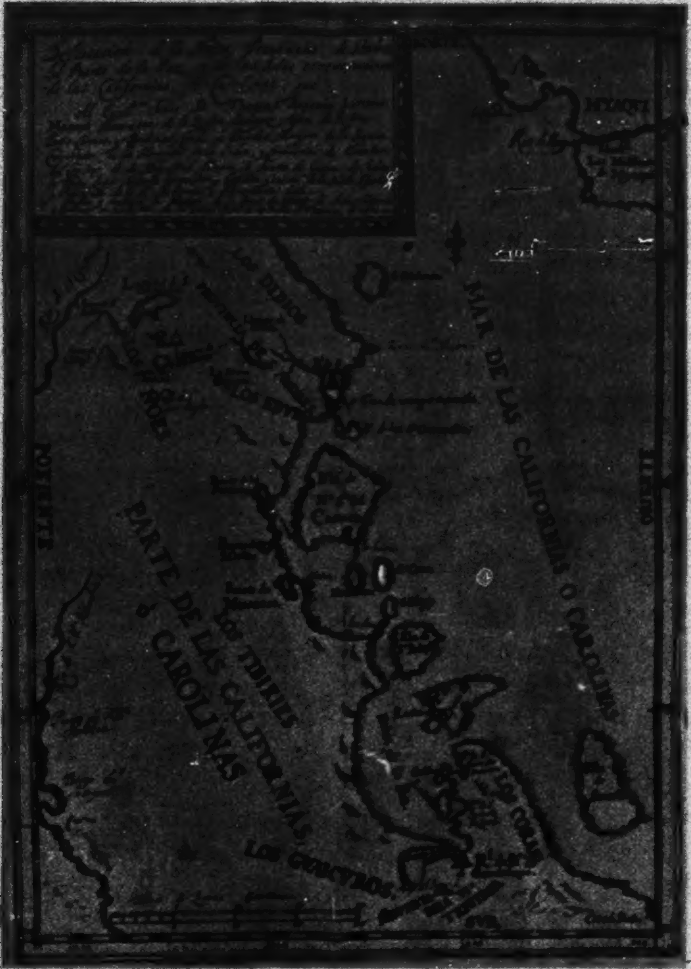
[illegible] Father Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Colegio de Guadalajara, October 20, 1685. Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Matanchel, November 15, 1685. Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Compostela, November 5, 1685, in *No. 30. El Obispo de quenta.*


MAR DE LAS CALIFORNIAS O CAROLINAS
PARTE DE LAS CALIFORNIAS o CAROLINAS
PONIENTE
LEVANTE
LOS GUAICUROS

MAP OF THE PART OF LOWER CALIFORNIA WHERE ATONDO AND KINO LABORED, 1683-1685

by the methods hitherto attempted, it was decided to relinquish the task to the Jesuits, with an annual subsidy from the crown, and on April 11 Kino and Atondo were requested to report the amount needed. But the vice-provincial, Father Marrás, rejected the offer, on the ground that the Order did not wish to undertake the burden of temporal administration. It was now decided, therefore, to furnish Atondo the thirty thousand dollars a year which he and Kino had reported necessary. A new expedition was thus about to be undertaken by these two veterans, when an urgent request for half a million dollars came from Spain, together with an order, dated December 22, 1685, to suspend the conquest of California because of the recent revolt of the Tarahumares.[34] Thus was the California enterprise put aside, to be revived twelve years later by Kino and Salvatierra.

KINO IN PIMERIA ALTA

At this point Father Kino takes up in detail the story of his career in America in his *Favores Celestiales*, which is printed hereinafter, and the remainder of this sketch will therefore be brief.[35] As soon as he learned that the conversion of California had been suspended, he asked and obtained permission to go to the Guaymas and Seris, with whom he had dealt during his voyages from California to the mainland. Leaving Mexico City on November 20, 1686, he went to Guadalajara, where he secured special privileges from the Audiencia. Setting forth again on December 16, he reached Sonora early in 1687, and was assigned, not to the Guaymas as he had hoped, but to Pimería Alta, instead.

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[34] Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, February 15, 1686; Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. I, 236-240; real *cédula*, December 22, 1685, A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. According to a dispatch from the Audiencia of Guadalajara, April 27, 1702, the abandonment of California cost Father Copart his reason, which at that date he had not recovered. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library.

[35] Since this section is based largely on the *Favores Celestiales*, printed hereinafter, numerous specific references will not be given.

Pimería Alta included what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. It extended from the Altar River, in Sonora, to the Gila, and from the San Pedro River to the Gulf of California and the Colorado of the West. At that day it was all included in the province of Nueva Viscaya; later it was attached to Sonora, to which it belonged until the northern portion was cut off by the Gadsden Purchase.

Kino found Pimería Alta occupied by different divisions of the Pima nation. Chief of these were the Pima proper, living in the valleys of the Gila and the Salt Rivers, especially in the region now occupied by the Pima Reservation. The valleys of the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz were inhabited by the Sobaipuris, now a practically extinct people, except for the strains of their blood still represented in the Pima and Papago tribes. West of the Sobaipuris, on both sides of the international boundary line, were the Papagos, or the Papabotes, as the early Spaniards called them. On the northwestern border of the region, along the lower Gila and the Colorado Rivers, were the different Yuman tribes, such as the Yumas, the Cocomaricopas, the Cocopas, and the Quiquimas. All of these latter spoke the Yuman language, which was, as it is today, quite distinct from that of the Pima.

When Kino made his first explorations down the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz Valleys, he found them each supporting ten or a dozen villages of Sobaipuris, the population of the former aggregating some two thousand persons, and of the latter some two thousand five hundred. The Indians of both valleys were then practicing agriculture by irrigation, and raising cotton for clothing, and maize, beans, calabashes, melons, and wheat for food. The Papagos were less advanced than the Pimas and Sobaipuris, but at Sonóita, at least, they were found practicing irrigation by means of ditches. The Yumas raised crops, but apparently without artificial irrigation. Much more notable than the irrigation in use at the coming of the Spaniards, were the remains of many miles of aqueducts, and the huge ruins of cities which had long before been abandoned, structures which are now attributed by scientists to the ancestors of the Pimas.

Father Kino arrived in Pimería Alta in March, 1687,[illegible] and began without the loss of a single day a work of exploration, conversion, and mission building that lasted only one year less than a quarter of a century. When he reached the scene of his labors the frontier mission station was at Cucurpe, in the valley of the river now called San Miguel. Cucurpe still exists, a quiet little Mexican pueblo, sleeping under the shadow of the Agua Prieta Mountains, and inhabited by descendants of the Eudeve Indians who were there when Kino arrived. To the east, in Nueva Vizcaya, were the already important *reales*, or mining camps, of San Juan and Bacanuche, and to the south were numerous missions, ranches, and mining towns; but beyond, in Pimería Alta, all was the untouched and unknown country of the upper Pimas.

On the outer edge of this virgin territory, some fifteen miles above Cucurpe, on the San Miguel River, Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Do-

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[illegible] It may be of interest to note that this was the very month of La Salle's assassination in the wilds of Texas.

lores (Our Lady of Sorrows), at the Indian village of Cosari. The site chosen was one of peculiar fitness and beauty. It is a commonplace to say that the missionaries always selected the most fertile spots for their missions. This is true, but it is more instructive to give the reason. They ordinarily founded their missions at or near the villages of the Indians for whom they were designed, and these were usually placed at the most fertile spots along the rich valleys of the streams. And so it was with the village of Cosari.

Near where Cosari stood, the little San Miguel breaks through a narrow cañon, whose walls rise several hundred feet in height. Above and below the cañon, the river valley broadens out into rich *vegas* of irrigable bottom lands, half a mile or more in width and several miles in length. On the east, the valley is walled in by the Sierra de Santa Teresa, on the west by the Sierra del Torreón. Closing the lower valley and hiding Cucurpe, stands Cerro Prieto; and cutting off the observer's view toward the north rises the grand and rugged Sierra Azul. At the cañon where the river breaks through, the western mesa juts out and forms a cliff, approachable only from the west.

On this promontory, protected on three sides from attack, and affording a magnificent view, was placed the mission of Dolores. Here still stand its ruins, in full view of the valley above and below, of the mountain walls on the east and the west, the north and the south, and within the sound of the rushing cataract of the San Miguel as it courses through the gorge. This meager ruin on the cliff, consisting now of a mere fragment of an adobe wall and saddening piles of debris, is the most venerable of the many mission remains in all Arizona and northern Sonora, for Our Lady of Sorrows was mother of them all, and for nearly a quarter of a century was the home of the remarkable missionary who built them.[57]

From his outpost at Dolores, during the next quarter century, Kino and his companions pushed the frontier of missionary work and exploration across Pimería Alta to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. By 1695 Kino had established a chain of missions up and down the valley of the Altar and Magdalena Rivers and another chain northeast of Dolores. In April, 1700, he founded, within the present state of Arizona, the mission of San Xavier del Bac, and within the next two years those of Tumacácori and Guebavi within the present state of Arizona. Kino's exploring tours were also itinerant missions, and in the course of them he baptized and taught in numerous villages, all up and down the Gila and the lower Colorado, and in all parts of northern Pimería.

Kino's work as missionary was paralleled by his achievement as explorer, and to him is due the credit for the first mapping of Pimería Alta on the basis of actual exploration. The region had been entered by Fray Marcos, by Melchior Díaz, and by the main Coronado party, in the period 1539-1541. But these explorers had only passed along its eastern and western borders; for it is no longer believed that they went down the Santa Cruz. Not since that day—a century and a half before—had Arizona been entered from the south by a single recorded expedition, while, so far as we know, not since 1605, when Oñate went from Moqui down the Colorado of the West, had any white man seen the Gila River.[58] The rediscovery, therefore, and the first interior exploration of Pimería Alta was the work of Father Kino.

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[57] The ruins of the Mission of Dolores are on Rancho de Dolores, on the hill directly overlooking the residence of the owner. They were visited by the writer in 1911.

[58] Father Kino is authority for the statement that before his day the Spaniards of New Mexico had traded with the Sobaipuris of the San Pedro Valley.

Not to count the minor and unrecorded journeys among his widely separated missions, he made at least fourteen expeditions across the line into what is now Arizona. Six of them took him as far as Tumacácori, Benson, San Xavier del Bac, or Tucson. Six carried him to the Gila over five different routes. Twice he reached that stream by way of Santa Cruz, returning once via Casa Grande, Sonóita, the Gulf of California and Caborca. Once he went by way of the San Pedro, once from El Saric across to the Gila below the Big Bend, and three times by way of Sonóita and the Camino del Diablo, along the Gila Range. Two of these expeditions carried him to Yuma and down the Colorado. Once he crossed that stream into California, and finally he reached its mouth.

East and west, between Sonóita and the eastern missions, he crossed southern Arizona several times and by several trails. In what is now Sonora he made at least half a dozen recorded journeys from Dolores to Caborca and the coast, three to the Santa Clara Mountain to view the head of the California Gulf, and two to the coast by then unknown routes south of the Altar River. This enumeration does not include his journey to Mexico, nor the numerous other trips to distant interior points in what is now Sonora, to see the superior mission authorities.

After 1699, aside from his search for souls in the Pimería, Kino's most absorbing quest was made in search of a land route to California. Since the days of Cortés and Cabrillo many views had been held regarding the geography of California, some regarding it as a peninsula and others as an island. Kino had been taught by Father Aygentler, in the University of Ingolstadt, that it was a peninsula, and had come to America firm in this belief; but in deference to current opinion, and as a result of certain observations of his own, he had given up the notion, and as late as 1698 he wrote of California as "the largest island of the world." But during the journey of 1699 to the Gila occurred an incident that caused him to turn again to the peninsular theory. It was the gift, when near the Yuma junction, of certain blue shells, such as he had seen in 1685 on the Pacific coast of the Peninsula of California, and there only. If the shells had come to the Yumas from the South Sea, he reasoned, must there not be land connection with California and the ocean, by way of the Yuma country? Kino now ceased his work on the boat he was building at Caborca and Dolores for the navigation of the Gulf, and directed his efforts to learning more about the source of the blue shells. For this purpose he made a journey in 1700 to San Xavier del Bac. Thither he called the Indians from all the villages for hundreds of miles around, and in "long talks" at night he learned that only from the South Sea could the blue shells be had.

This assurance was the inspiration of his remaining journeys. In the same year, 1700, he for the first time reached the Yuma junction, and learned that he was above the head of the Gulf, which greatly strengthened his belief in the peninsular theory. In the next year he returned to the same point by way of the Camino del Diablo, passed some distance down the Colorado, and crossed over to the California side, towed on a raft by Indians and sitting in a basket. Finally, in 1702, his triumph came, for he again returned to the Yuma junction, descended the Colorado to the Gulf, and saw the sun rise over its head. He was now satisfied that he had demonstrated the feasibility of a land passage to California and had disproved the idea that California was an island.

In estimating these feats of exploration we must remember the meager outfit and the limited aid with which he performed them. He was not supported and encouraged by several hundred horsemen and a great retinue of friendly Indians as were De Soto and Coronado. On the contrary, in all but two cases he went almost unaccompanied by military aid, and more than once he went without a single white man. In one expedition, made in 1697 to the Gila, he was accompanied by Lieutenant Manje, Captain Bernal, and twenty-two soldiers. In 1701 he was escorted by Manje and ten soldiers. At other times he had no other military support than Lieutenant Manje or Captain Carrasco, without soldiers. Once Father Gilg, besides Manje, accompanied him; once two priests and two citizens. His last great exploration to the Gila was made with only one other white man in his party, while in 1694, 1700, and 1701 he reached the Gila with no living soul save his Indian servants. But he was usually well supplied with horses and mules from his own ranches, for he took at different times as many as fifty, sixty, eighty, ninety, one hundred and five, and even one hundred and thirty head.

The work which Father Kino did as a ranchman, or stockman, would alone stamp him as an unusual business man, and make him worthy of remembrance. He was easily the cattle king of his day and region. From the small outfit supplied him from the older missions to the east and south, within fifteen years he established the beginnings of ranching in the valleys of the Magdalena, the Altar, the Santa Cruz, the San Pedro, and the Sonóita. The stock-raising industry of nearly twenty places on the modern map owes its beginnings on a considerable scale to this indefatigable man. And it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain, for he did not own a single animal. It was to furnish a food supply for the Indians of the missions established and to be established, and to give these missions a basis of economic prosperity and independence. It would be impossible to give a detailed statement of his work of this nature, but some of the exact facts are necessary to convey the impression. Most of the facts, of course, were unrecorded, but from those available it is learned that stock ranches were established by him or directly under his supervision, at Dolores, Caborca, Tubutama, San Ignacio, Imuris, Magdalena, Quiburi, Tumacácori, Cocóspera, San Xavier del Bac, Bacoancos, Guebavi, Síboda, Busanic, Sonóita, San Lázaro, Saric, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Eulalia.

Characteristic of Kino's economic efforts are those reflected in Father Saeta's letter thanking him for the present of one hundred and fifteen head of cattle and as many sheep for the beginnings of a ranch at Caborca. In 1699 a ranch was established at Sonóita for the triple purpose of supplying the little mission there, furnishing food for the missionaries of California, if perchance they should reach that point, and as a base of supplies for the explorations which Kino hoped to undertake and did undertake to the Yumas and Cocomaricopas, of whom he had heard while on the Gila. In 1700, when the mission of San Xavier was founded, Kino rounded up the fourteen hundred head of cattle on the ranch of his own mission of Dolores, divided them into two equal droves, and sent one of them under his Indian overseer to Bac, where the necessary corrals were constructed.

Not only his own missions but those of sterile California must be supplied; and in the year 1700 Kino took from his own ranches seven hundred cattle and sent them to Salvatierra, across the Gulf, at Loreto, a transaction which was several times repeated.

And it must not be forgotten that Kino conducted this cattle industry with Indian labor, almost without the aid of a single white man. An illustration of his method and of his difficulties is found in the fact that the important ranch at Tumacácori, Arizona, was founded with cattle and sheep driven, at Kino's orders one hundred miles across the country from Caborca, by the very Indians who had murdered Father Saeta at Caborca in 1695. There was always the danger that the mission Indians would revolt and run off the stock, as they did in 1695; and the danger, more imminent, that the hostile Apaches, Janos, and Jocomes would do this damage, and add to it the destruction of life, as experience often proved.

Kino's endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned cowboy. This is evident from the bare facts with respect to the long journeys which he made. When he went to the City of Mexico in the fall of 1695, being then at the age of fifty-one, he made the journey in fifty-three days, between November 16 and January 8. The distance, *via* Guadalajara, is no less than fifteen hundred miles, making his average, not counting the stops which he made at Guadalajara and other important places, nearly thirty miles per day. In November, 1697, when he went to the Gila, he rode about seven hundred or eight hundred miles in thirty days, not counting out the stops. On his journey in 1698 to the

Gila he made an average of twenty-five or more miles a day for twenty-six days, over an unknown country. In 1699 he made the trip to and from the lower Gila, about eight or nine hundred miles, in thirty-five days, an average of ten leagues a day, or twenty-five to thirty miles. In October and November, 1699, he rode two hundred and forty leagues in thirty-nine days. In September and October, 1700, he rode three hundred and eighty-four leagues, or perhaps one thousand miles, in twenty-six days. This was an average of nearly forty miles a day. In 1701, he made over four hundred leagues, or more than eleven hundred miles, in thirty-five days, an average of over thirty miles a day. He was then nearing the age of sixty.

Thus we see that it was customary for Kino to make an average of thirty or more miles a day for weeks or months at a time, when he was on these missionary tours, and out of this time are to be counted the long stops which he made to preach to and baptize the Indians, and to say mass.

A special instance of his hard riding is found in the journey which he made in November, 1699, with Father Leal, the Visitor of the missions. After twelve days of continuous travel, supervising, baptizing, and preaching up and down the Santa Cruz Valley, going the while at the average rate of twenty-three miles (nine leagues) a day, he left Father Leal at Batki to go home by carriage over a more direct route, while he and Manje sped "á la ligera" to the west and northwest, to see if there were any sick Indians to baptize. Going thirteen leagues (thirty-three miles) on the eighth, he baptized two infants and two adults at the village of San Rafael. On the ninth he rode nine leagues to another village, made a census of four hundred Indians, preached to them, and continued sixteen more leagues to another village, making nearly sixty miles for the day. On the tenth he made a census of the assembled throng of three hundred persons, preached, baptized three sick persons, distributed presents, and then rode thirty-three leagues (some seventy-five miles) over a pass in the mountains to Sonóita, arriving there in the night, having stopped to make a census of, preach to, and baptize in, two villages on the way. After four hours of sleep, on the eleventh he baptized and preached, and then rode, that day and night, the fifty leagues (or from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five miles) that lie between Sonóita and Busanic, where he overtook Father Leal. During the last three days he had ridden no less than one hundred and eight leagues, or from two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles, counting, preaching to, and baptizing in five villages on the way. And yet he was up next morning, preaching, baptizing, and supervising the butchering of cattle for supplies. Truly this was strenuous work for a man of fifty-five.

Another instance of his disregard of toil in ministering to others may be cited. On the morning of May 3, 1700, he was at Tumacácori, on his way to Dolores, from the founding of Mission San Xavier del Bac. As he was about to say mass at sunrise, he received an urgent message from Father Campos, begging him to hasten to San Ignacio to help save a poor Indian whom the soldiers had imprisoned and were about to execute on the following day. Stopping to say mass and to write a hurried letter to Captain Escalante, he rode by midnight to Imuris, and arrived at San Ignacio in time to say early mass and to save the Indian from death. The direct route by rail from Tumacácori to Imuris is sixty-two miles, and to San Ignacio it is seventy. If Kino went the then usual route by the Santa Cruz River, he must have ridden seventy-five or more miles on this errand of mercy in considerably less than a day.

Kino's physical courage is attested by his whole career in America, spent in exploring unknown wilds and laboring among untamed savages. But it is especially shown by several particular episodes in his life. In March and April, 1695, the Pimas of the Altar Valley rose in revolt. At Caborca Father Saeta was killed and became the proto-martyr of Pimería Alta. At Caborca and Tubutama seven servants of the mission were slain, and at Caborca, Tubutama, Imuris, San Ignacio and Magdalena—the whole length of the Altar and Magdalena Valleys—the mission churches and other buildings were burned and the stock killed or stampeded. The missionary of Tubutama fled over the mountains to Cucurpe. San Ignacio being attacked by three hundred warriors, Father Campos fled to the same refuge, guarded on each side by two soldiers. At Dolores Father Kino, Lieutenant Manje, and three citizens of Bacanuche awaited the onslaught. An Indian who had been stationed on the mountains, seeing the smoke at San Ignacio, fled to Dolores with the news that Father Campos and all the soldiers had been killed. Manje sped to Opodepe to get aid; the three citizens hurried home to Bacanuche, and Kino was left alone. When Manje returned next day, together they hid the treasures of the church in a cave, but in spite of the soldier's entreaties that they should flee, Kino insisted on returning to the mission to await death, which they did. It is indicative of the modesty of this great soul that in his own history this incident in his life is passed over in complete silence. But Manje, who was weak or wise enough to wish to flee, was also generous and brave enough to record the *padre's* heroism and his own fears.

In 1701 Kino made his first exploration down the Colorado below the Yuma junction—the first that had been made for almost a century. With him was one Spaniard, the only other white man in the party. As they left the Yuma country and entered that of the Quiquimas, the Spaniard, Kino tells us in his diary, "on seeing such a great number of new people," and such people—that is, they were giants in size—became frightened and fled, and was seen no more. But the missionary, thus deserted, instead of turning back, despatched messages that he was safe, continued down the river two days, and crossed the Colorado, towed by the Indians on a raft and sitting in a basket, into territory never before trod by white men since 1540. Perhaps he was in no danger, but the situation had proved too much for the nerve of his white companion, at least.

And what kind of a man personally was Father Kino to those who knew him intimately? Was he rugged, coarse fibered, and adapted by nature to such a rough frontier life of exposure? I know of no portrait of him made by sunlight or the brush, but there is, fortunately, a picture drawn by the pen of his companion during the last eight years of his life, and his successor at Dolores. Father Luis Velarde tells us that Kino was a modest, humble, gentle, ascetic, of mediaeval type, drilled by his religious training to complete self effacement. I should not be surprised to find that, like Father Junipero Sierra, he was slight of body as he was gentle of mind.

Velarde says of him:

Permit me to add what I observed in the eight years during which I was his companion. His conversation was of the mellifluous names of Jesus and Mary, and of the heathen for whom he was ever offering prayers to God. In saying his breviary he always wept. He was edified by the lives of the saints, whose virtues he preached to us. When he publicly reprimanded a sinner he was choleric. But if anyone showed him personal disrespect he controlled his temper to such an extent that he made it a habit to exalt whomsoever maltreated him by word, deed, or in writing. . . . And if it was to his face that they were said, he embraced the one who spoke them, saying, "You are and ever will be my dearest master!" even though he did not like him. And then, perhaps, he would go and lay the insults at the feet of the Divine Master and the sorrowing Mother, into whose temple he went to pray a hundred times a day.[89] After supper, when he saw us already in bed, he would enter the church, and even though I sat up the whole night reading, I never heard him come out to get the sleep of which he was very sparing. One night I casually saw someone whipping him mercilessly. [That is, as a means of penance]. He always took his food without salt, and with mixtures of herbs which made it more distasteful. No one ever saw in him any vice whatsoever, for the discovery of lands and the conversion of souls had purified him. These, then, are the virtues of Father Kino: he prayed much, and was considered as without vice. He neither smoked nor took snuff, nor wine, nor slept in a bed. He was so austere that he never took wine except to celebrate mass, nor had any other bed than the sweat blankets of his horse for a mattress, and two Indian blankets [for a cover]. He never had more than two coarse shirts, because he gave everything as alms to the Indians. He was merciful to others, but cruel to himself. While violent fevers were lacerating his body, he tried no remedy for six days except to get up to celebrate mass and to go to bed again. And by thus weakening and dismaying nature he conquered the fevers.

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[89] The allusion is to the name of the mission, Nuestra Señora *de los* Dolores.

Is there any wonder that such a man as this could endure the hardships of exploration?

Kino died at the age of sixty-seven, at Magdalena, one of the missions he had founded, and his remains are now resting at San Ignacio, another of his establishments. His companion in his last moments was Father Agustín de Campos, for eighteen years his colaborer and for another eighteen years his survivor, as I recently learned from the church records of San Ignacio. Velarde describes his last moments in these terms:

> Father Kino died in the year 1711, having spent twenty-four years in glorious labors in this Pimería, which he entirely covered in forty expeditions, made as best they could be made by two or three zealous workers. When he died he was almost seventy years old. He died as he had lived, with extreme humility and poverty. In token of this, during his last illness he did not undress. His deathbed, as his bed had always been, consisted of two calfskins for a mattress, two blankets such as the Indians use for covers, and a pack-saddle for a pillow. Nor did the entreaties of Father Agustín move him to anything else. He died in the house of the Father where he had gone to dedicate a finely made chapel in his pueblo of Santa Magdalena, consecrated to San Francisco Xavier. . . . When he was singing the mass of the dedication he felt indisposed, and it seems that the Holy Apostle, to whom he was ever devoted, was calling him, in order that, being buried in his chapel, he might accompany him, as we believe, in glory.[89a]

The words of that eloquent writer, John Fiske, in reference to Las Casas, Protector of the Indians, are not inapplicable to Father Kino. He says:

> In contemplating such a life all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before . . . [such] a figure. When now and then in the

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[89a] I have seen no confirmation of Father Bancroft's story that Kino was was killed by rebel Indians. From what is said here it seems altogether improbable. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, 660.

course of centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age.

THE *FAVORES CELESTIALES*

This Introduction, however, is not concerned alone with the history of Father Kino's work, but also with the bibliography of his personal writings relating to his career in America. My investigations in foreign archives have enabled me to improve that bibliography in three directions: (1) By extension, through bringing to light items not hitherto known by modern scholars, or, if known, not known to be extant; (2) by curtailment, through the elimination of titles ascribed to Kino which should be accredited to others;[illegible] and through the identification of titles which have been regarded as distinct but which in fact refer to the same work, and are therefore duplicates; (3) by making known the original manuscripts in cases where formerly only imperfect copies have been available. But within the space at my command it would be impossible to treat adequately all three of these phases, or even one of them, and I shall therefore devote it chiefly to the discussion of the most important single item of Kino's writings, his lost *History*, its rediscovery, identification, and value as an historical source.

[illegible] The list of Kino writings has been unduly lengthened, *for example*, by the inclusion, as diaries by Kino, of several separate chapters of Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, cited below. This has been done in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, the catalogue of the British Museum, the catalogue of the Buckingham Smith Collection in the New York Historical Society Library, Quaritch's trade catalogue, Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, 253, and elsewhere.

Early References to a "History" by Kino

In the works of the early Jesuit historians who dealt with New Spain there are certain references to an "Historia" (History) or "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino which have not been satisfactorily accounted for by any of the bibliographies of Kino's writings which have come to my notice. Thus, in the Prologue to Venegas's *Noticia de la California* completed in Mexico in 1739 and published at Madrid in 1757,[40a] it is stated by the editor that "Father Venegas, to write his History, had present . . . the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino," etc. Similarly, Alegre, in the Prologue to his *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España*, which he left incomplete in 1767 at the time of the Jesuit expulsion, mentions as one of his principal sources "the relation of Sonora, by Father Francisco Eusebio Kino."[41] A third Jesuit work, falling chronologically between the two already cited, mentions a Kino manuscript in such terms as to suggest at once the work referred to by Venegas and Alegre. Allusion is here made to Father Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes*, which was completed in Mexico in 1752 and published at Barcelona in 1754.[42] Ortega cites, as his main reliance for his treatment of Kino's career, what he several times calls a "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino, and to which he once refers as a *legajo* (bundle) of Kino's papers "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated."[43]

[40a] *Noticia de la California . . . . sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, Formada en Mexico año de 1739 por el Padre Miguel Venegas, etc.* (Madrid, 1757). An English version of this work was published at London in 1759 as *A Natural and Civil History of California*, two volumes.

[41] "La de Sonora, por el padre Francisco Kino," the antecedent of *la* being *relación*. See *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España que estaba escribiendo El P. Francisco Javier Alegre al Tiempo de su Espulsion* (Mexico, 1841), vol. I, "Prologo," p. 5.

[42] *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compañia de Jesus Escritos por un Padre de la Misma Sagrada Religion de su Provincia de Mexico.* This work was completed in Mexico by Father Joseph Ortega, and published anonymously at Barcelona in 1754. A reprint was published by Manuel de Olaguibel in Mexico in 1887 as *Historia del Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa y ambas Californias.*

In the foregoing works, it is seen, we have three specific references to a history, or relation, by Kino. The editor of Venegas calls it "the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora," Alegre "the relation of Sonora," and Ortega a relation, or papers, "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated." No such work has been known to modern scholars, I believe, and, so far as I have been able to discover with the resources at my command, the references by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre are the only ones to a history of Sonora or to a work of that nature made by anyone who claims to have used it, although it is possible that there may be others which have not come to my notice. It will be seen that the latest of these references was made as early as 1767, or nearly a century and a half ago.[44]

For the identification of the author, see the "Prologo" to the 1887 edition. This edition does not contain the "Prologo y Protesta del Autor" found in the original edition, copies of which are in the library of Santa Clara College, California, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California. For references to the Kino manuscript used by Ortega, see *Historia del Nayarit*, 302, 303, etc.

[43] "*A la Pimeria Alta, cuyas malas y buenas calidades quedan brevemente dibujadas, enviaron los superiores al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino; y habiéndose encontrado un legajo de sus papeles en que están coordinados sus viajes, empresas y descubrimientos, será muy conveniente que su memoria en suscinta relación se conserve en esta Historia*" [*Historia del Nayarit*, 301-302]. Again, "*El mismo apostólico sábio jesuita en sus papeles se refiere á varios que de sus descubrimientos ha remitido, ó á Roma . . . ó á Mexico*" (*ibid.*, 302).

[44] A reference was made in 1792 by one who had seen it. This was Father Figueroa, who in that year compiled the manuscript collection called *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España*, consisting of thirty-two volumes. In volume xvii he copied Kino's diary of 1683-1685. Incident thereto

Conjectures of Modern Writers

Nevertheless, a few modern authors have noticed the allusions in the old Jesuit histories, and it is interesting to see what they have thought they meant. The earliest conjecture which I have seen as to their meaning is that made by Beristáin y Souza, in his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, first published in Mexico in the period 1816-1821. Commenting in that work upon Alegre's reference, Beristáin conjectured that the so-called "Historia" by Kino was "perhaps nothing else," to use his own words, than Kino's diaries, letters, and reports, otherwise known, taken collectively. "Or," he says, "it may be the relation which was brought to my notice by my inquisitive friend, Don José María

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he made the following comment: "Among the manuscript papers of the secret archive of the extinguished province of the Company of Jesus of New Spain we found some in the very handwriting of the apostolic man Francisco Kino. They detail at great length some of the expeditions which, on various occasions, this same father undertook for the discovery and conversion of the barbarian heathen living in the *barrancas* and *rancherías* which extend toward the Sea of California. The greater portion of the papers written by Father Kino furnished material for the work which, under the title of *Afanes Apostólicos*, was printed in Barcelona by the Company of Jesus in 1754. Since they were communicated to the public in this way, it is seen that they have no place in this collection, except the diary that follows, which is not included in that work. It contains, indeed, detailed notices of the discovery and conversion of many *rancherías* of heathen which are not distinctly treated of in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." This note was published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* (fourth ser., Mexico, 1856, tomo i, 405), as an introduction to Kino's "Tercera Entrada," to which Figueroa refers. It is clear, therefore, that Father Figueroa saw the papers to which the other authors referred, but that, on the other hand, he did not recognize their unity or their exact relation to the *Afanes*.

Clavigero, *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* (Méjico, 1852), in the "Prefacio del Autor" says of Venegas: "*approvechandose de las cartas de los misioneros, y especialmente de los padres Salvatierra, Piccolo y Ugarte, que fueron de los mas celebres y antiguos*[,] *de la historia manuscrita de Sonora, compuesta por el infatigable padre Kino, etc.*" He evidently took this from the "Prologo" of Venegas, and had no personal knowledge of the "historia manuscrita" by Kino.

de la Riba y Rada." This relation, he explains, was the "Relación diaria" of 1698, now slightly known but which Beristáin evidently had never seen.[48]

The De Backers, in their monumental *Bibliothèque*,[49] published at Liége, 1869-1876, follow Beristáin, and, favoring the latter of his alternative conjectures, query with respect to the Kino "Historia," as cited by Alegre, "is it different from C [the "Relación diaria"]?" The Sommervogel edition of the De Backer, printed as late as 1893, contains the same query without adding new light.

In the meantime Bancroft, writing in 1884, made a somewhat different conjecture, and one that was not without some shrewdness, although quite wide of the mark. It will be remembered that Ortega states that in writing the *Apostólicos Afanes* he made use of a ""relación" by Father Kino. Noting this statement, Bancroft says, "Venegas refers to a MS. Historia de Sonora by Kino, referring to the letters embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." A little farther on in the same work Bancroft says of the *Afanes*, "Libros ii and iii relate to the Jesuit work in Pimería, and the former almost exclusively to Kino's achievements down to 1710, being in substance as is believed Kino's own letters on the subject. It may be regarded probably as the *Historia de Sonora* vaguely alluded to by several writers as having been left in MS. by Kino." Again, he says of Manje: "His reports have fortunately been preserved . . . being often more satisfactory than even Kino's letters as embodied in the *Apostólicos*

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[48] The evidence that he had not seen it is the fact that he copies from another source a peculiarity of title which is not found in the original.

[49] *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liége, 1853-1861), vol. v, 367-368. See Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Première Partie*, vol. iv, 1044, and *Addenda*, xii; and vol. ix, 548.

Afanes." In his *Arizona and New Mexico*, published in 1888, he states unequivocally that the *Afanes*, or a part of it, is made up "mainly of Kino's letters."[61]

And thus, to summarize, it has been conjectured that the "Historia" referred to by the early writers was (1) merely Kino's letters "as embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*," or (2) his letters, diaries, and reports taken collectively, or (3) the single diary of 1698. In all these cases there is an implied disbelief in the existence of a History, in the sense of a compilation or treatise.

The Discovery of the Favores Celestiales

This word of Bancroft, excepting Sommervogel's repetition of the De Backers's query, seems to be the last that has been said upon the subject up to the present. But now mystery is dispelled and conjectures are made superfluous by the discovery in the archives of Mexico of what is clearly the "Historia" or "Relación" to which Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre referred. The complete title of the work is: "Favores Celestiales de Iesus y de Maria Ssma. y del gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados en las nuevas Conquistas y nuevas Comversiones del nuevo Reino de la Nueva Navarra desta America Septentrional yncognita, y Passo por Tierra a la California en 35 grados de Altura con su nuevo Mapa cosmografico de estas nuevas y dilitadas Tierras que hasta Aora havian sido yncognitas, dedicados a la Rl. Magd. de Felipo. V. mui Catolico Rey y gran Monarca de las Españas, y de las Yndias." It is referred to here as the *Favores Celestiales.*

The "Mapa Cosmografico" is not filed with the manuscript and has not been seen by the present writer, unless it be the Kino map of 1701.

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[61] Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, 190, 253, 256; *Arizona and New Mexico*, 234.

General Nature of the Work

The general nature of the work is readily gathered from its table of contents. It opens with a dedication to "the very Catholic Majesty of Our Lord Philip V" and the conventional "Prologue to the charitable reader." The body consists of five parts, of greatly unequal lengths, each divided into books and chapters. Part I is a consecutive account of the spiritual affairs, the explorations, the Indian troubles, and other temporal interests in Pimería Alta, with considerable attention to California, from the time of Kino's arrival in March, 1687, to November, 1699, and contains near the end a discussion of the spiritual and temporal advantages which might be derived from further conquests in "this most extensive northern portion of this North America, which is the largest and best portion of the earth." Parts II, III, and IV cover in a similar way the period from 1700 to 1707, with particular emphasis upon Kino's own exploring expeditions in Pimería Alta, along the Gila and Colorado Rivers, and along the Gulf coast. Here the chronological narrative ends. Part V was not originally written as a portion of the "Historia," but was incorporated, in Kino's last days, as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the King, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre."

In short, the *Favores Celestiales* is a history of Pimería Alta and of explorations therein and therefrom, with considerable attention to California affairs, for the twenty-three years between 1687 and 1710, written by the principal personage in the region during the period.

From internal evidence we learn the essential facts concerning the compilation of the *Favores Celestiales.* It was written at the request of the Father General of the Jesuit order, and is therefore official in character. The various parts were compiled at different times, during a period of more than ten years, between 1699 and 1710, and different portions of the work were forwarded to the authorities as they were completed, before the termination of the whole work. In fact, no evidence has been seen that the completed history was sent to the authorities. One striking fact is that it was all written at Kino's remote mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in the intervals between the absorbing and fatiguing labors of the missionary and the explorer.

The Identity of the Favores Celestiales with the "Historia"

A careful study establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt the identity of the *Favores Celestiales* with the "History" or "Relación" used by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre. A detailed comparison shows that in the part dealing with Kino's life work, Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes* is little else than a summary of the *Favores Celestiales,* and not always a critical summary at that, though in general very good. In the order of presentation, the former follows the latter throughout, while there are innumerable evidences of word and phrase borrowing. The two other writers, Venegas and Alegre, are so brief in the ground covered by the *Favores Celestiales* that it is less easy to detect borrowing, but in

Venegas a few instances are so palpable as to leave no doubt. With respect to Alegre, it appears that while he had the *Favores Celestiales* at hand, in the main he followed Ortega's condensation of it, rather than the original.

Its Value as a Source

Our primary interest in the *Favores Celestiales*, of course, is to know its value as an historical source. To determine this, it is necessary to analyze its contents in the light of the hitherto extant sources for the different periods and subjects which it covers. The results of an exhaustive examination of that nature can only be intimated here, and this mainly in a quantitative way.

1. In the first place, the *Favores Celestiales* is a continuous account of an entire historical movement of great importance, covering a period of more than twenty years, from the pen of the principal actor. In this respect it has no known rival, and its value is obvious. Next to it in rank from this standpoint is Libro II of Manje's *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita*, of which more later. Even if all the facts which the *Favores Celestiales* contains could be gleaned from other sources, it would still, from its personal associations, have the highest intrinsic value.

The worth of such a treatise, to be sure, is greatly dependent upon the author's method of work. That Kino wrote from the sources, and kept close to them, and thus fulfilled one important condition, is evidenced by the fact that in the *Favores Celestiales* he quotes from about two hundred documents, giving some in their entirety, and citing others. He must have had at hand and drawn upon the correspondence of many years. Numerically, the larger portion of the documents quoted are letters from his superiors and associates, but there are also, quoted at length, seven diaries of exploring expeditions, chiefly within what is now the United States. Nearly all of these diaries, and the whereabouts of quite all, I believe, have been hitherto unknown.

2. In the second place, the discovery of the *Favores Celestiales* discloses the chief source from which the extant secondary works are drawn; for, as it has been said, it now appears that Ortega's *Afanes*, which has represented the maximum of our information, is merely a summary of the *Favores Celestiales*, while Venegas and Alegre, still briefer, depended directly or indirectly on the same source. More recent accounts of Kino's work have all been drawn mainly from Ortega, Alegre, Manje, and Venegas.

Recurring at this point to Bancroft's conjecture, it is now seen that while the *Afanes* is not composed of Kino's own letters, to any important extent, and that the "Historia" (i.e. *Favores Celestiales*) is by no means identical with the *Afanes* (or with Book II of it, if that is what Bancroft meant to say); yet Bancroft rightly concluded that the *Afanes* was founded on a wealth of original documents, and that by the "Historia" and the "Relación" Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre all referred to the same thing, whatever it was.

3. The supreme test is what the *Favores Celestiales* contains that is not found in the available primary sources, as distinguished from the secondary works. This question must be considered from the standpoint of the different periods covered by Kino, for no single generalization will hold for all periods.

For the history of Pimeria Alta from the time of Kino's arrival there in 1687 to the coming of Manje late in 1693, our main reliance has hitherto been the secondary works of Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre, none of whom was an eye-witness or even a contemporary, and the earliest of whom wrote many years after the close of the period designated. Very few contemporary documents for these years – almost none by Kino – have been known. Thus the *Favores Celestiales* is not only the principal source of our secondary accounts, but practically the only important primary source for the period. It is not surprising, therefore, that, besides greatly enlarging our information, it corrects many errors that have become current, and puts on a solid footing a number of important statements hitherto uncertain or skeptically regarded, with reference to early explorations within the United States.[48]

For the period extending from 1694 to 1701, inclusive, our most important single source has been the account by Manje, commander of Kino's military escort on several expeditions. For this compilation Bancroft improvised the title, *Historia de Pimeria Alta*,[49] etc.

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[48] To this period Kino devotes two books, entitled "Book I, First Entry into Pimeria, and the beginnings of its Spiritual and Temporal Conquest, and of its Conversion to Our Holy Catholic Faith," and "Book II, Visit and Triumphs of the Father Visitor Juan Maria Salvatierra, 1690, 1691, 1692." From the founding of Mission Dolores, in March, 1687, to January, 1691, very little has hitherto been known of Kino's doings. Thus Bancroft writes that his "subsequent movements for several years are not recorded in detail," and that "he kept on alone and before 1690 had fine churches in each of his villages (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 253). Again, in his *Arizona and New Mexico* [p. 352], Bancroft says: "For six years he toiled alone, till fathers Campos and Januske came in 1693." But the *Favores Celestiales* contains several chapters on this dark period. It tells us, too, that Kino did not work alone all the time, as has been supposed, but that Fathers Luis Maria Pinelli, Antonio Arias, Pedro de Sandoval, and Juan del Castillejo "came in and accomplished some good in this Pimeria," stating specifically where each worked (see volume i, 116). These are but illustrations of numerous ways in which this first portion of the *Favores Celestiales* will correct and enlarge our information for the period.

[49] *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 256.

Of it he says: "This work is composed of Manje's diaries given literally, but connected apparently by some editor whose name is unknown." But the original manuscript, which, also, I had the good fortune to discover, shows that it is Libro II of a work called *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, and that the unknown editor was Manje himself. The work extends to 1721, but is relatively unimportant for the current of events after 1701.[60] Of this relation it has been said that its only rival for the period under consideration is the *Apostólicos Afanes*;[61] and in the absence of the source from which the *Afanes* was drawn, this opinion was correct. But we now have that source, and the assertion no longer holds.

A careful comparison shows that the *Favores Celestiales* supplements the *Lúz de Tierra Incógnita* in many important particulars, only a few of which can be mentioned. In general, it emphasizes mission affairs, while Manje's work gives relatively more attention to military events. With Manje at hand, Bancroft was constrained to say of Kino's first visit to Casa Grande, in 1694 – the first unquestioned expedition thither on record – "No diary was kept, and our knowledge is limited to the bare fact that such an entrada was made."[62] But the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the visit,[83] short, it is true, but nevertheless very enlightening. Kino embodies in his account of the period designated, and especially of the events of 1695, many original letters not given elsewhere, to my knowledge,[84] and devotes several chapters to important happenings of 1696, 1697, and 1698 not touched at all by Manje. For one exploring expedition of 1699 and another of 1701 Kino parallels Manje's diary with his own, while for two expeditions of 1700 and one of 1701 not treated at all by Manje he gives diaries. It has already been noted that most of these diaries have not only been unavailable but also unknown to modern scholars. Manje, on the other hand, supplies diaries of three expeditions made in 1694, one in 1697, and one in 1699 of which Kino gives only secondary accounts, based, apparently, on his own diaries.

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[60] A copy of Libro I is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (1720, 1 vol. octavo, Ms.). This work covers the history of discovery in the northwestern part of New Spain, and particularly in Pimeria Alta before Manje's day. It contains at the end a copy of Kino's diary of 1698, of which the original was discovered by me in another archive. Libro II published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iv, tomo I (Mexico, 1856), without title, is a continuation of this work, a fact that has never before been noted, so far as my knowledge extends. A copy of Libro I is in the Peabody Museum, and is listed among the Bandelier transcripts in *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-1893*, 326.

[61] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 354.

[62] *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 259; see *Arizona and New Mexico*, 355.

For the period from April, 1701, to Kino's death, in 1711, the lack, hitherto, of primary sources, has been as great as for that before 1694, while the *Favores Celestiales*, fortunately, is much fuller for this period than for the former. Our main reliance here, as there, has been the older secondary histories already mentioned, especially the *Afanes*. This work, hitherto much the fullest account of the period, devotes to it some twelve thousand words, while the *Favores Celestiales*, besides being the source of all that the *Afanes* contains, devotes to the same period some seventy-five thousand words, or six times the space. It is here, perhaps, that its distinctive value for narrative history is greatest, in view of the brevity of other accounts of the events of these years. The chronological treatment of events extends in the *Favores Celestiales* only to 1707. Among the notable source items incorporated for this period are four diaries, none hitherto accessible, and the "Informe" of 1710, which is cited by Ortega, but whose whereabouts and contents apparently have been unknown to modern scholars.

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[83] Parte I, Libro II, Capitulo VIII: "*Entrada o Mision al Norte y al Nortueste de mas de 100 leguas hasta el Rio y casa grande y descubrimiento de las dos Nuevas Naciones la opa y la Coco Maricopa.*" The spelling of "Nortueste" illustrates one of Kino's peculiarities of composition alluded to on a previous page.

[84] Libros III and IV, comprising thirteen and six short chapters, respectively, are devoted entirely to the work and martyrdom of Father Saeta and the Indian troubles following that event.

The *Favores Celestiales* will not be studied least, perhaps, for the light which it throws upon the question of the peninsularity of California and upon Kino's ambitious visions of northward progress of the Jesuit missions and the Spanish arms. In addition to the narratives and the diaries which it gives of numerous explorations made to get new light upon California geography, the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the discussion of Kino's conclusions concerning it.[illegible]

LISTS OF FATHER KINO'S WRITINGS

Having made the foregoing general statement regarding the writings of Kino incorporated by him in the *Favores Celestiales*, their relative importance may be made clearer by enumerating them in a list beside one of those hitherto known and available to modern scholars. A tentative list of such writings, eliminating all duplications, all titles of doubtful authenticity, and all unpublished manuscripts whose whereabouts has not been ascertained, is given below. The process by

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[illegible] Parte II, Libro IV, Capitulo I. Mr. I. B. Richman, for whose *California under Spain and Mexico* the present writer gathered all the Mexican archive materials, made some slight use of the *Favores Celestiales* in the form of the writer's translation. His statement (*op. cit.*, 387) that "portions more or less complete are to be found in various Ms. collections and in print" is based on the mistake of confusing Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incognita* for a work by Kino.

which it was derived need not be stated here. A number of titles given by Sommervogel, Beristáin, and others, will be missed, but, as has been indicated, those lists are greatly confused, and when critically studied many of the items disappear. It is to be understood, however, that the list given here is not considered as by any means final.

A. Kino writings hitherto available

Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa (Mexico, 1681).

Tercera Entrada. en 21 de Diciembre de 1683.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iv, tom. i, 405-468. Original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Une lettre. Oct. 5, 1684.

So cited by Sommervogel, as printed in Scherer's *Geographia hierarchica*. Monachii, 1703. As a matter of fact, the extract is not a single letter, "but a gathering of several letters" of Kino.

A letter of May 13, 1687, "an einen unbenannten Priester."

Quoted in "Brief Patris Adami Gilg," in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt Bott*, 1726.

Relacion del estado de la Pimeria que remitte el Pe. Visitador Horacio Polici: y es copia de Carta que le escribe el Capitan Dn. Christoval Martin Bernal. Dec. 3 and 4, 1697.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 797-809. Original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Colocasion de nuestra Sa. de los Remedios en su nueva capilla de su nuevo pueblo de las Nuevas Conversiones de la Pimeria En 15 de Setiembre de 98 as. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Sept. 16, 1698.

Printed under a wrong title in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 814-816. The title given above is that of the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Carta del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, al padre visitador Horacio Policio, acerca de una entrada al Noroeste y mar de la California, en Compañía del Capitán Diego Carrasco, actual teniente de esta dilatada Pimeria, que fue de ida y vuelta mas de trescientas leguas, a 22 de setiembre de 1698. Signed at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Oct. 18, 1698.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 817-819. The above title is that of the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Relasion Diaria de la entrada al nortuesta que fue de Yda y Buelta mas de 300 leguas desde 21 de setiembre hasta 18 de Otubre de 1698. Descubrimiento del desemboque del rio grande hala Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sa. Clara Reduction de mas de 4000 almas de las Costas Bautismos de mas de 400 Parbulos 1698. Con Enseñanzas y Experiensias.

Unprinted. The above title is from the original in the archives of Mexico. Known hitherto only in the form of a Ms. copy at the end of Libro I of *Lüs de Tierra Incógnita* in the Biblioteca Nacional.

Breve relacion de la insigne victoria que los Pimas, Sobaipuris en 30 de Marzo del Año de 1698 han conseguido contra los enemigos de la Provincia de Sonora. May 3, 1698. Post-dated Oct. 25.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 810-825. The above title is from the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Paso por tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuebas Naciones, etc. 1701.

This is Kino's famous map of Pimeria Alta, which has been printed in many editions.

The above list, including ten titles, and comprising three letters, two diaries, three relations, and one map, embraces, as has been said, all the unquestioned Kino items available to modern scholars, so far as I have been able to determine up to the present.[illegible] To these can now be added, from those incorporated in the *Favores Celestiales*, seven diaries, three letters, and an "informe," or report. None of these items, so far as I am aware, has been available to modern students. Some were referred to by the older historians, but have been positively declared not extant. Others have never been mentioned to my knowledge. It will be seen that the new list is longer than the old. Thus the *Favores Celestiales*, regarded merely as a source book, doubles our available Kino writings. It must be remembered, of course, that though they are given in documentary

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[illegible] This enumeration does not account for all the manuscripts listed in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, 660, since some of the titles listed there are of uncertain identity.

form, they may not be exact copies. The titles here given are in most cases chapter headings. The list is as follows:

B. Additional Kino writings incorporated in the Favores Celestiales

Entrada o Mission del Pe. Visitador Antonio Leal en la Pimeria a los Sobaipuris del Norte y a la costa del Nortueste y del Poniente de ida y buelta de 240 leguas desde 24 de ottue. hasta 28 de Noviembye de 1699 ano hai en ella 23 Bautismos, y se ven y quentan como 7000 almas.

Translated in this volume, pages 203-220.

Relacion Diaria de la Entrada al Norte en orden a descubrir camino, y passo por tierra a la California, segun muchas Personas desean escriven, y piden.

Translated in this volume, pages 230-240.

Entrada de 170. leguas al Norte y Nortueste en Busca del Passo por tierra a la California, y Descubrimto. del Caudalosissimo muy Poblado, y muy fertil Rio Colorado (que es legitimo Rio del Norte) y de las Nuevas Naciones.

Translated in this volume, pages 241-258.

Entrada (o Mission) al Remate de la Mar de la California en 34 grados del [*sic*] Altura Con el Pe. Rr. Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

Translated in this volume, pages 263-292.

Entrada de 200. leguas a la Nacion Quiquima de la California Alta y al muy Caudaloso, muy fertil, y muy poblado Rio Colorado, que es el legitimo, y verdadero, Rio del Norte. 1701.

Translated in this volume, pages 307-322.

Letter to Father Leal, describing the same journey. Dec. 8, 1701.

Translated in this volume, pages 322-324.

Entrada de 200. leguas del año 1702. con el muy individual Nuevo Descumbrimto. del muy cierto y muy patente Passo por tierra a la California, que se reconoce no ser Ysla, sino Penisla, Feb.-Apr., 1702.

Translated in this volume, pages 335-347.

Letter to Father Leal, describing the above expedition, Apr. 8, 1702.

Translated in this volume, pages 347-362.

Mission Quaresmal de mas de 50 leguas Al Nortueste y al Poniente, desde 27 de febrero asta 20 de Marzo, de 1706 entrando A San

Ambrosio del Busanic, Al Tibutama y a Nra sra de la Concepcion del Caborca. Feb.-March, 1706.
 Translated in volume ii, 163-170.
Ynforme y Relasion de las nuevas Comversiones de esta America Septentrional, etc. Feb. 2, 1710.
 Translated in volume ii, 227-271.
Letter to King Philip V, transmitting the foregoing. Feb. 2, 1710.
 Translated in volume ii, 224-225.

C. *Other Kino manuscripts now available*

Besides the foregoing the editor of this work has procured from the Archivo General de Indias the following Kino writings hitherto not available, it is believed. They all relate to Kino's early career in America. Transcripts of each are in the Bancroft Library. The location of the originals in the archives is indicated in the Bibliography at the end of Volume II.

Letter to the Bishop of Durango. Pueblo de Nio. March 25, 1682.
Testimonio de la Posesión tomada. Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, April 5, 1683. By Eusebio Francisco Quino and Pedro Mathias Goñi. Signed by these and witnessed by Francisco de Pereda y Arze, Matheo Andrés, Martín de Verastégui.
Delineacion de la Nueva Provincia de S. Andres del Puerto de la Paz, y de las Islas circumvecinas de las California, ó Carolinas, Dec. 21, 1683.
Description de la Fortificacion y Rl. de S. Bruno de Californias. 1683[?].
Letter to the viceroy. San Bruno, Dec. 6, 1684.
Letter to the viceroy. San Bruno, Dec. 8 [?] 1684.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Torín, May 30, 1685.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Colegio de Guadalaxara, Oct. 10, 1685.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara. Compostela, November 5, 1685.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara. Matanchel, Nov. 15, 1685.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, on board the Almiranta, Dec. 2, 1685.
Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, Feb. 15, 1686.
Petition asking prohibition of taking Indians with seals to work in mines from his prospective mission. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686.

CELESTIAL FAVORS OF JESUS,

Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in the New Conquests and New Conversions of the New Kingdom of Nueva Navarra of this Unknown North America; and the Land-Passage to California in Thirty-five Degrees of Latitude, with the New Cosmographic Map of these New and Extensive Lands which hitherto have been unknown. Dedicated to the Royal Majesty of Philip V, Very Catholic King and Grand Monarch of the Spains and the Indies.

TO THE VERY CATHOLIC MAJESTY OF OUR SOVEREIGN, PHILIP V

When, six years ago,[87] I received from our Father General, Thirso Gonsales,[88] a most paternal letter of the preceding year, very urgently charging me to continue to write the "Celestial Favors Experienced in These New Conquests and New Conversions," at the same time the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga (who without my meriting it named me rector of these missions), sent me the very Catholic royal *cédula* of your Majesty, dated July 17, 1701, in printed form, and inserted in the report which, upon request of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara and by order of your Majesty, was made and printed by Father Francisco Maria Picolo,[89] missionary of California, concerning the prosperous condition of that apostolic conquest and conversion. And since the royal, very Catholic, and most Christian *cédula* of your Majesty so greatly favors all these new conversions, both of California and of this mainland of Cinaloa and Sonora, and of this Pimeria, through your Majesty's so piously ordering that they be maintained, extended, and encouraged by all possible means, and through your Majesty's so tenderly granting the benign license which, in the year 1697, the Señor Viceroy Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares gave to Father

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[87] That is, in 1702.

[88] Father Tirso Gonzáles was general of the Jesuits from July 6, 1687, to October 27, 1705 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv, 85-86).

[89] Father Picolo's report is incorporated by Father Kino in this work. See volume II, 46-67.

Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and me to go to California to seek the conversion of those heathen, charging his Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara with preparing the necessary reports, in order that in view of them such provisions should be made as might be considered proper in order to perfect the work which had been undertaken so many years before, and which is of such great service to God and to the increase of our holy Catholic faith, resolving that there should be assigned six thousand *pesos* each year from this treasury, etc., in view of all this I recognize this royal *cédula* of Your Majesty to be one of the chief celestial favors which our Lord bestows upon us, and about which I have here to write.

And having present this royal and Catholic *cédula* of your Majesty, and the said report of the prosperous condition of California and of the neighboring friends, lovers of the new conversions, a religious pen[60] answered me that it was even more important to report and write of these new conversions of this province of Sonora and of this Pimeria, since they have more profitable and fertile lands, and are of less expense to the royal estate.

Because of this very Catholic royal *cédula* of your Majesty, these conquests in this very extensive North America might be called the New Philippines of America, with the same and with even greater propriety than that with which the conquered islands of the East Indies in Asia were named Philippines in consideration of the great Catholic zeal of Philip III;[61] unless your Royal Majesty prefers, as has been and is the opinion of various persons very zealous in the service of both Majesties, that these new conquests, which are more than two hundred leagues in extent, should be decorated with the name of the New Kingdom of Nueva Navarra, as others are called kingdoms of Nueva Biscaya, Nueva Galisia, etc. For this New Kingdom of the American Nueva Navarra might unite still other neighboring kingdoms which are being conquered with those already conquered, just as the kingdom of Navarra in Europe lies between and unites the crowns and realms of France and Spain.

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[60] Father Agustin Campos, missionary at San Ignacio.

[61] Philip III reigned 1598-1621. The Philippines were so named as a result of the Villalobos expedition of 1543, and in honor of the prince, who became Philip II.

With all my heart, I wish that now I might have a small part of the good fortune which Father Andres Peres de Rivas had when he dedicated to Philip, the fourth of this so happy name, and your Majesty's immediate predecessor, the notable volume or history of the Triumphs of the Faith among barbarous nations[63] (which were the new conquests and the new conversions of Cinaloa and of surrounding tribes) from the year 1590 to that of 1645, now that since then we have penetrated more than one hundred leagues further this way, as far as this province of Sonora, and more than one hundred and fifty other leagues to the Taraumares,[64] and now that I, with only my servants and fifty or sixty or more mules and horses, in more than fifty journeys inland, made through the great mercy of our Lord during these twenty years, some of which have been fifty, sixty, and one hundred leagues and some one hundred and fifty and two hundred leagues in extent, have penetrated to the north, to the west, and to the northeast, and particularly to the most unknown regions of the northwest, as far as the land passage to California, which I discovered in the years 1698 and 1699, and which is in the latitude of thirty-five degrees, where I discovered also the very large, extremely fertile, and most densely populated Colorado River (the true Rio del Norte of the ancients), which flows into the head of the Sea of California and reaches to the neighborhood of the hither borders of Gran Quivira.

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[63] The reference is to the work of Andrés Pérez de Ribas, entitled *Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe.* Madrid, 1645.

[64] The Tarahumares lived east of the Sierra Madre, mainly in the present state of Chihuahua. They are of Piman stock (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*).

By means of these many and repeated journeys and missions which I have made to all parts, without special expense to the royal estate, there remain reduced to our friendship and to obedience to the royal crown, and with a desire to receive our holy faith, more than thirty thousand souls in this vicinity, both in this Pima nation, which has more than sixteen thousand souls, and in the neighboring lands of the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, Cutganes, Bagiopas, Hoabonomas,[illegible] etc. And there are many more tribes with more souls and people, where one can enter with all ease; for I have already sent them messages and discourses concerning Christian doctrine, and they have informed me, and we know, that if missionary fathers come they will follow and imitate these other nations already reduced.

In these twenty-one years, after having been missionary of California in the expedition made at a cost of more than half a million to the royal estate by the Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, whom I aided in taking possession of California (passing to the opposite coast and the South Sea in the latitude of

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[illegible] All these were tribes living near the lower Gila and lower Colorado Rivers. The Yumas, Quiquimas (Quigyumas), Cutganes (Cuchan, Kwichana), and Cocomaricopas (Maricopas) are all Yuman tribes. Hodge, our best authority on this group, regards the Hoabonomas as probably of Yuman and the Bagiopas as probably of Shoshonean stock. See the "Index" for each of the tribes.

twenty-six degrees, and holding the offices of first rector of that new conversion, vicar of the Señor Bishop of Guadalaxara, and cosmographer of his Majesty), I have baptized here in these new conquests and new conversions about four thousand five hundred souls,[illegible] and could have baptized twelve or fifteen thousand if we had not suspended further baptisms until our Lord should bring us missionary fathers to aid us in instructing and ministering to so many new subjects of your Majesty and parishioners of our Holy Mother Church.

Since afterwards the conquest and conversion of California was suspended, I asked for and obtained permission to come to these neighboring coasts and the heathen people of this province of Sonora, which begins in the latitude of thirty-two degrees. And the father provincial, Anbrosio Oddon,[illegible] having named me rector of these new missions and of those of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora, and Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra as visitor of Cinaloa and Sonora, when, in the year 1691, his Reverence came to visit these new conversions of this Pimeria, we went inland for the space of a whole month and more than fifty leagues of travel. And, seeing these lands so pleasant, so rich, so fertile and able so easily to lend aid to the scanty lands of California, the said father visitor, Juan Maria de Salvatierra,[illegible] and I agreed to foster so far as we could

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[illegible] It has been customary for writers to state that Father Kino baptized more than 40,000 natives, instead of 4,000. This was due to a misreading of Kino by Ortega, author of the *Apostólicos Afanes*, and whom other writers have followed.

[illegible] Father Ambrosio Oddon was named provincial in November, 1689, to succeed Father Bernabé de Soto. In December, 1693, he was succeeded by Diego de Almonacir, and himself became rector of the Colegio Máximo of Mexico (Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, 68-69, 75).

[illegible] Father Juan Maria Salvatierra was the leader of the Jesuits in their great missionary work in Baja California from 1697 to 1717, part of which the continuation of that new conquest and conversion of California, his Reverence at once making for that purpose a very favorable report. When, seven years afterwards, we obtained the desired license, which is cited in the said royal *cédula* of your Majesty, my going was prevented by the reports which the royal officials of this province of Sonora dispatched to Mexico, saying that I was needed in this extensive Pimeria, and Father Francisco Maria Picolo was sent in my place. But I, always encouraged to that end by our father general, Thirso Gonzales, and by the father visitor, Orasio Polise,[88] from here have tried to promote the welfare of both conquests, and of their new conversions, in this most extensive and unknown North America, which seems to give thanks to the Lord by offering such an opportunity for its complete conquest and conversion, that, God helping, we shall be able to write new treatises and volumes. One of them may be called:

THE SEVEN NEW KINGDOMS. "The seven ancient, heathen, and fallen cities[89] of this unknown North America, which are being changed and reduced under the most Christian protection of the very Catholic King and great [monarch] of the Spains and the Indies, Philip V., may God preserve him."

These seven new kingdoms, in place of the seven ancient cities, might be: I, Nueva Biscaya, which lies

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time he held the office of provincial in New Spain. For his work see Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, 71-113; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, *passim*; Venegas (Burriel), *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 1-307. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, chap. xi, xv. A portrait of Salvatierra is printed in Engelhardt, vol. i, facing p. 80. A more pleasing one is in Alegre, vol. iii, facing p. 96.

[88] Oracio Polici was visitor in 1696. In that year and the next Kino made several journeys into Arizona, at Father Polici's order. See *post*, page 164.

[89] The allusion is to the old belief in Seven Cities in northwestern America. Columbus heard of them while in the West Indies, Guzmán sought them in Sinaloa, Fray Marcos identified them with the Zuñi pueblos which he discovered. Coronado conquered them in 1540.

to the south and southeast; II, Nuevo Mexico, which is northeast of us; III, California Baja, which lies to the southwest and west of us, and extends as far as the latitude of thirty-five degrees, with the Gulf of California between; IV, this new kingdom of Nueva Navarra, scene of these new conquests and new conversions, which are between the other new kingdoms, and about in the center or heart of all this North America; V, California Alta,"[70] which lies to the west and northwest of us, from the latitude of thirty-five degrees to that of forty-five or forty-six; VI, Gran Quivira,"[71] which lies to the northwest of us, where the pirate English captain placed his pretended Sea of California; VII, Gran Teguayo,"[72] or Nueva Borboña, which is to the north of us, beyond the Moqui, and extends from thirty-seven or thirty-eight degrees north latitude to the Sea of the North, which Hudson discovered in the year 1612, in the latitude of fifty-two, fifty-three, and fifty-four degrees.

Cosmographic Proof that California is not an Island, but a Peninsula. I have just written another small treatise called "Cosmographic Proof that California is not an Island,"[73] but a Peninsula, and is continuous with this New Spain, the Gulf of California ending in the latitude of thirty-five degrees," and, with its map, I am sending it to Mexico to the father provincial, Juan de Estrada,[74] as his Reverence asks me to do.

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[70] It is sometimes maintained that "California Alta," as used early in the eighteenth century, referred primarily to the upper part of the peninsula. It is clear, however, that Kino here meant distinctly the country north of the peninsula, and essentially what is now comprised in the states of California and Oregon.

[71] Gran Quivira originally was sought toward the northeast of New Mexico, but later it was placed by some map makers northwest of New Mexico. For a sketch of Gran Quivira in history see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part II, 346-347.

[72] According to Hodge, Teguayo was the name of the Tewa (Tegua) country of New Mexico. In the seventeenth century, writers (*e.g.* Benavides) located it eastward of New Mexico. Escalante located the "province" in Utah (Hodge, *Handbook*) part II, 718.

[73] I have never seen any reference to this document other than the present and others which Kino makes in this work. Evidently it was never printed.

The purposes of these new conquests and new conversions and of the celestial favors that we experience in them are very much and very particularly promoted by the holy, paternal letter which I have just received from our most reverend father general, Miguel Angel Tamburini,[75] who, at the same time that he furnishes a copy of most of these writings of mine, which, by order of his predecessor, Father Thirso Gonzales, went to Rome, among other paternal, most excellent, and holy things, writes me the following:

> Letter of Our Father General. Hearing of the new discoveries and of their condition, I find much to praise in the mercies of God towards those nations that are being discovered and brought to the knowledge of Him; and our Company owes special thanks to His Divine Majesty, in that he chooses its sons as instruments of so great glory to Him. I await the other two parts of the *Celestial Favors* which your Reverence promises. All these reports are such as fill me with joy and with a desire to respond to the zeal of your Reverence and of your companions. But just as there are obstacles there, we regret that here wars, lack of intercourse, and the dangers of the seas detain our missionaries. But we all trust with great confidence in the loving providence of God; for since it has been His will, in such troubled times as these, to disclose these new regions, and to reveal to us the many souls that are scattered outside of His flock, it can not be in order that we may see them perish, but instead

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[74] Father Juan de Estrada became acting provincial in November, 1707. He had been provost of the Casa Profesa of Mexico (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 150). He was succeeded by Father Antonio Jardon (1708-1711); he in turn by Alonso Arrevillaga, in April, 1711 (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 150-157).

[75] Succeeding Father Tirso González, Father Michele Angelo Tamburini was general of the Jesuit Order from January 31, 1706 to February 28, 1730 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv, 85-86).

> to give us means and power to draw them from their forests and reduce them to pueblos and churches. Thus, I beg his divine Majesty to guard your Reverence the many years which I desire.
> Your Reverence's servant, MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI.
> Rome, September 5, 1705.

Thus far the letter of our father general, from Rome, so laden with celestial favors. Here follow the means and forces which he says our Lord will give us to reduce so many souls to pueblos and churches. They are those which by divine grace we already have, and are as follows:

MEANS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS. I. The very rich and fertile lands, abounding in wheat, maize, beans, good rivers, groves, etc. We already have made many crops, fields, and abundant harvests. II. We already have prepared many ranches of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, not only in these new pueblos, but also very far inland, at distances of twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, and more leagues. III. We already have very good orchards and vineyards to supply wine for the masses. IV. The temperature of these new lands is similar to that of Europe. V. These new conquests are inhabited by industrious Indians. VI. The lands are mineral bearing. VII. We already have conquered these Pima Indians, who are able and accustomed to win continual victories over the enemies who infest this province of Sonora, etc. VIII. These natives on the neighboring California Gulf have very good salines, and fisheries of all kinds of palatable fish, oysters, and shrimps. They also have bezoar, the medicinal fruit called *jojoba*, blankets, cotton fabrics, curious and very showy baskets or pitchers, macaws, and feathers; and further inland there must be other means, advantages, and conveniences. IX. The harvest of the very many souls is now so ripe that all the year they come from distances of fifty, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and more leagues, to see me and to ask me to go and baptize them, or to procure for them priests who shall go to assist, care for, and minister to them.

And although these extensive conquests will require about fifty missionary fathers, all with their customary alms or necessary supplies, your Majesty can furnish them, without its causing any new expense to the royal estate, by merely ordering that some amounts which are now being spent by it without securing the ends for which your Royal Majesty intends them, and which are therefore not profitable, be assigned to the said fifty missionary fathers of these new conquests and new conversions, who, God willing, will better achieve both purposes, as I will state in another and separate memorial.

I conclude with what, so much to our purpose and to the purposes of all, our Holy Mother Church says, prays, and sings on the first feast day in May, that of San Felipe and Santiago, namely, *Gentiles Salvatorem videre cupientes ad Philipum accesserunt*,"[78] that is, the Gentiles who wished to see the Saviour of the world drew near to Philip. And thus we see and happily experience with the very Catholic, very pious, and most Christian royal *cédula* of your Majesty, that all the innumerable Gentiles of these new conversions and new conquests of this very extensive and formerly unknown North America and Nueva Navarra, etc., in order to see, know, and love the Saviour of the world and to save themselves eternally, draw near to the most pious protection, happy obedience, and fortunate vassalage of Philip V,[77] the very Catholic and most happy king and grand monarch of the Spains and the Indies, whose royal life may the Sovereign Divine Majesty preserve and prosper through long and most happy years with His celestial favors, for the temporal and eternal happiness of the European and American worlds, and of the universe of the heavens and of the earth, for evermore, amen. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, of these new conquests and new conversions of Nueva Navarra, November 21, 1708. From your very Catholic and humble Chaplain, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

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[78] "The Gentiles, desiring to see the Savior, came to Philip." Roman Breviary, Lesson iv, Feast of Sts. Philip and James, Apostles. Founded on *John*, xii, 20, 21. Marginal annotation in the original Ms: 1 *Maij. Noct.* 11 *Lect.* 1.

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[77] Philip V was king of Spain during the years 1700-1746.

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

Father Alexandro Francisco Tivipucci, closely imitating Father Marcello Mastrilli in tender devotion to San Francisco Xavier, as shown in the *novena* of that glorious holy Apostle of the Indies, says these words:

> Before Jesus and most holy Mary, I do not wish to owe this health of mine to human means and forces or to the virtues of medicine, but solely to Thee, O my most glorious protector, San Francisco Xavier.

The very same will be said by these poor sons of this Pimeria and of this mainland, and by me, and by the most loving fathers and sons of the neighboring California, *et nati natorum et qui nascentur.*[78] And we will attribute these new spiritual and temporal conquests of these new conversions to the celestial favors of these above mentioned most divine protectors of ours rather than to human agencies or to the military forces of the presidios and soldiers, etc.; and we will repeat with the royal prophet, *Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriae* (*Ps.* 23); *et exaltare, Domine, in virtute tua, cantavimus et psalemus virtutes tuas*[79] (*Ps.* 20). We will sing, O Lord, Thy greatness, Thy virtues, Thy great mercies, and Thy celestial favors and those of Thy Saints.

To the most glorious and most pious thaumaturgus and apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, we all owe very much. I owe him, first, my life, of which

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[78] "And their children's children and those yet unborn."

[79] "The Lord of Hosts He is the King of Glory" (*Psalm* xxiii, 10). "Be Thou exalted, O Lord, in Thy own strength; we will sing and praise Thy powers" (*Psalm* xx, 14).

I was caused to despair by the physicians in the City of Hala, of Tirol, in the year 1669; second, my entrance into the company of Jesus; third, my coming to these missions indicated. And because I know that I owe and do not know whether or not I pay, I beg and entreat all the celestial court and all the earthly universe to aid me in giving him due thanks for so many celestial favors bestowed upon the most unworthy of all the earth.

And by celestial favors I mean here especially the wonderful mercies which, before Jesus and Mary, we receive from this most glorious apostle of the Indies, in the midst of such great human obstacles and opposition as, through Divine disposition, have been encountered in the reduction of so many souls, who exceed twenty thousand. And as Father Visitor Juan Maria Salvatierra very fittingly said during his visit to this Pimeria in the middle of January, 1691, when, at that time, we were speaking together here of the conversion of California (the Holy Church includes the same words in the prayer of the three holy kings), *Apertum est nobis ostium magnum et evidens; et adversarii multi (Corint 16)*.[illegible] There has indeed been opened to us a very wide and very obvious gate to all this most extensive northern part of this North America, situated in its most pleasant and most fertile temperate zone; and, moreover, human means have been so lacking that many times those whose duty it was to aid us have hindered us, and those who were our friends have become our enemies, placing many obstacles in the way of everything and trying to make light of the whole affair.

All the good is due to spiritual agencies: to these ce-

[illegible] "A great and evident door is opened unto us; and there are many adversaries (*Ostium enim mihi apertum est magnum et evidens; et adversarii multi*." I *Cor.*, xvi, 9).

lestial favors of Jesus and Mary and San Francisco Xavier; to all of the holy convent of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes of Seville, Spain; and to all of the holy convent of San Joseph de García in the imperial City of Mexico, as is attested by their long papers and catalogues, prints, and vellums, in which they note for us the holy aids of fervent and continuous prayers, voluntary penances and devotions, and pious works, by which these holy communities and many and various other servants of our God, both men and women, are pleased to commit to his Divine Majesty the good and happy promotion of these new conversions. And, thanks to the Most High, by means of the celestial favor of this very wonderful and pacific Christian charity, more will be attained now than by ordinary human agencies and by the military labors of arms and of wars, just as, in speaking of Rome, Pope Saint Leo, in the first sermon of St. Peter and St. Paul, declares in these words, *Quamvis enim multis aucta victorijs ius yuperii tui terra marique protuleris minus tamen est quod tibi bellicus labor subduxit quam quod Pax Christiana subiecit.*[81]

During all these years the Señor commander of the arms of these provinces himself, Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzatte,[82] has wished to avail himself of his very Christian devotion toward his great patroness, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and of other pious works, spiritual exercises, charitable plans, Christian gifts, and very Catholic reasoning with these natives of Pimeria, rather than of violent and bloody wars. By the former means the Pimeria has been reduced, and at the same time the hostile Jocomes and Janos have been destroyed, and this tormented province of Sonora relieved, repaired, and made quiet and peaceful. Who can doubt now that all these are the agencies, unexpected and unhoped for, with which, as a few years ago another father visitor prophesied so correctly, these missions of Sonora were to reform and give peace to these provinces?

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[81] "For though thou (O, Rome), increased by many victories, didst once spread the right of thy power over land and sea, still the toil of war won less for thee than what Christian peace subdued" (Roman Breviary, Fifth Lesson, Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul). The entire passage refers to the spread of Christian Rome's influence. The substitution of *subduxit* for *subdidit* shows that the quotation was from memory.

[82] Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzat (or Cruzatte) was sent by King Carlos II in 1680 as *visitador* of the Leeward Island with a force of fifty men and the rank of captain of infantry, and with orders to the viceroy to provide him an office in reward for services in the wars against Portugal. He was made alcalde-mayor of Meztitlán, a province near Mexico City, and some two years afterward became governor of the revolted province of New

Let thanks, then, be given to the Most Holy Trinity, thanks to Jesus and most holy Mary, thanks to the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, and to all the celestial court, for all the celestial favors that we have received and are receiving in these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions; thanks for the similar matchless benefits that we hope to receive in the future, in the highest, the most lucra-

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Mexico. He ruled "con aplauso" till 1686, made several campaigns against hostile Indians, but failed to reconquer the province. Again becoming governor of New Mexico (1689-1691) he made renewed attempts to reconquer the province, but failed, although in the struggle at Zia he left six hundred Indians dead on the battle-field. Before the king had heard of Jironza's victory he was replaced by Diego de Vargas Zapata. In a royal *cédula* of June 22, 1691, the king thanked him for his services, conceded him the robe of the three military orders, and ordered that he be retained in New Mexico if Vargas had not taken possession. In 1693 he was made commander of the newly established Compañía Volante of Sonora and alcalde-mayor of the province, with the capital at San Juan Bautista. His nephew, Juan Mateo Manje, was made ensign of the company and later lieutenant alcalde-mayor. During his rule (1693-1700) Jironza made numerous campaigns against the marauding Indians, and was much esteemed by the Jesuit Fathers, while Manje became Kino's principal soldier associate. See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 255-256, 262, 272-274.

tive, and most happy ministry of all ministries in the world. This is the happy reward for preaching the gospel in these apostolic undertakings, as was put so clearly by the Venerable Father Pedro de Belasco, on being called by his superiors to leave the new conversions of Sinaloa, where he was working so gloriously, in order to go to Mexico to teach the arts. He told them that he would have them consider the injury that would be done to the Holy Writ, which was taught by the Son of God and read by His apostles and disciples, if they took him away from teaching and reading it to those needy tribes merely to employ him with the earthly maxims of a heathen philosopher; that it would be a mortification to him to leave the book of the Gospels for the books of Aristotle, the preaching of Christ for the teachings of Porphyry, the explanation of the catechism of sound and eternal truths for the categories of vain and futile sophistries; that they should consider before God whether it would not be a shame if the languages which he had already learned and which another could not learn so quickly, and which could be used in catechizing heathen and in teaching Christian people, should go to waste, to the spiritual injury of so many people, merely in order to occupy himself in reading what many others in the province could already do; that he was not needed; that he had come from the missions not to leave them, but to make known their needs and his strong desire to return to them; but that he was ready to do whatever obedience might require of him, before God. Thus far the Venerable Father Pedro de Velasco, who returned to his famous missions.

Now, O Sovereign Creator of heaven and earth, who, with Thy infinite and most divine love, and with Thy most high celestial providence, ever surest, sweetest, and gentlest disposition, hast permitted or caused these human obstacles and contradictions, *ludens in orbe terarum*,"[63] and with equally loving, pious, and fatherly affection hast protected and dost protect us with so many celestial favors, permit not in the future that there should be so great forgetfulness of Thy most divine and most holy name in these extensive unknown lands, *Nunquid cognosentur in tenebris, mirabilia tua aut justisia tua in terra oblivionis?* (*Ps.* 87).[64] Grant that Thy evangelical workers may come, and that, with Thy celestial favors and with their apostolic toil, all these tribes, especially the many neighboring ones of this North America, may be brought to holy knowledge of Thee and of Thy most divine love, in order that they may praise Thee with Thy chosen ones, the saints of the celestial court throughout all eternity, *Vt cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum, confiteantur tibi populi, Deus confiteantur tibi, populi omnis benedicatnos Deus Deus noster benedicatnos Deus et metuant* (*et diligant*) *te omnes finis terræ* (*Ps.* 66).[65] And may these benedictions please my charitable reader, as is my wish. Amen. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, December 3, day of the glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, 1699.

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[63] "Playing in the world" (*Prov.*, viii, 31. *Ludens in orbe terrarum et deliciæ meæ esse cum filiis hominum*). The scriptural reference is to wisdom, but in Catholic liturgy the whole passage is applied sometimes to the Word of God, the "Verbum," and sometimes to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who has been called Seat of Wisdom.

[64] "Shall Thy wonders be known in the dark, and Thy justice in the land of forgetfulness?" (*Psalm* lxxxvii, 13). The *aut* for *et* indicates again a quotation from memory. We should now write *cognoscentur* and *justitia*.

[65] "That we may know thy way upon earth, thy salvation in all nations. Let the peoples confess to Thee, O God; let all the peoples confess to Thee. May God, our own God, bless us, may God bless us. And may all the ends of the earth fear (and love) Thee" (*Psalm*, lxvi, 3, 4, 8). *Populi omnis* for *populi omnes*, as now written, and *omnes finis* for *omnes fines*. The *metuant te* for *metuant eum*, and the insertion of *et diligant*, show intentional freedom in quoting.

PART I

NEW SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL Conquests in Pimeria, of the Kingdom of Nueva Biscaya, during the Suspension of the Enterprise of the Conquest and Conversion of California; and the Events of the Twelve Years from 1687 to 1699

BOOK I. FIRST ENTRY INTO PIMERIA, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ITS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL CONQUEST, AND OF ITS CONVERSION TO OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH

CHAPTER I. BECAUSE OF THE SUSPENSION OF THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA, TWO ALMS ARE ASKED AND OBTAINED FROM THE ROYAL TREASURY FOR TWO MISSIONARY FATHERS FOR THIS COAST AND MAINLAND NEAREST TO CALIFORNIA

The enterprise of the conquest and conversion of California, in which I took part for more than two years, with two other fathers of the Company, with the offices of superior, or rector, and of cosmographer of his Majesty, may God preserve him, having been suspended,[80] for twelve years and going on thirteen I have been in this extensive Pimeria, which has a length from north to south of more than one hundred leagues, reaching from the province and valleys of Sonora almost to the province of Moqui, and a width of as many and even more leagues from east to west, from the land of the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas, Apaches,"[67] etc., to the arm of the Sea of California. For, on the occasion of this suspension, I asked of the father provincial, who at the time was Father Luys del Canto,[68] permission to come to the heathen people of these coasts nearest to the above mentioned California, and when his Reverence said to me that there were no alms from his Majesty for this purpose, I told him that if he would give me permission I would ask them of his Excellency. He replied that I should make a report, and with it and one of his own his Reverence asked and obtained two alms for two persons. With one I came at once to this Pimeria, and with the other Father Adan Gil[69] came later to the neighboring Seris. When these alms were conceded, the fiscal of his Majesty, Don Pedro de la Bastilla, may God preserve him, asserted that these coasts would afford the best opportunity possible for continuing afterwards from here with the conquest and conversion of California. Leaving Mexico on November 20, 1686, just after Father Bernabe de Soto had come as provincial, I went to Guadalaxara, whence

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[80] The reference is to the attempt of Atondo y Antillon to subdue California, 1683-1685. See Venegas (Burriel), *Noticia de California*, vol. iii, 318 *et seq.* See also references in the "Index" of the present work.

Important new material concerning the abandonment of California is contained in an *expediente* of correspondence, in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville (A.G.I. 67-3-28. *Audiencia de Guadalajara*. Copy in the Bancroft Library). It contains a report on California by the Bishop of Guadalajara, February 18, 1686; Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Torin, May 30, 1685; *id. id.*, Guadalajara, October 20, 1685; *id. id.*, Compostela, November 5, 1685; *id. id.*, Matanchel, November 15, 1685; *id. id.*, on board the *Almiranta*, December 2, 1685; Father Matias Goñes (Goñi) to Bishop Garabito, Port of San Ignacio, Sinaloa, September 22, 1685; Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, Mexico, February 15, 1686; Atondo to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, February 16, 1686. These letters give a clue to Kino's itinerary after leaving California.

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[67] The Janos and Jocomes, now extinct, dwelt between Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and the Gila. Bandelier regarded them as the most southern band of Apaches, and as a composite of broken down tribes. Missions were early established among them at Janos and Carretas. See Hodge, *Handbook*, vol. I, 628; Hughes, Anne, *Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District* (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. I). They became absorbed in the main Apache nation.

[68] Luis del Canto was provincial in New Spain, 1683-1686. He was succeeded by Father Bernabé Soto, long a missionary among the Tepehuanes (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 60-61). Soto was still ruling in November, 1689 (*ibid.*, pp. 66-67).

[69] Concerning Father Adam Gilg (or Gil), see Stöcklein, Letters no. 33 and no. 53. In both he speaks of Kino. See also Huonder, Anton, *Deutsche Jesuiten-missionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 108.

I set out on December 16, having obtained from the Royal Audiencia the royal provision and the inserted royal *cédula* which is given in the following chapter.[80]

CHAPTER II. ROYAL PROVISION AND ROYAL *CÉDULA* WHICH FAVOR THE NEW CONVERSIONS

At the suggestion of the father provincial, Luis del Canto, and of the father provincial elect, Bernabe de Soto, I asked for and obtained from the Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara, through the very Catholic zeal of the Señor president, Don Alonso Sevallos y Billa Gutierres, and of the Señor judge Don Christobal de la Palma, a royal provision to the effect that during five years no natives whatever should be taken out with seals to work, from the places where I should go for their conversion. I requested this royal provision at a very opportune time, for there had just arrived from Spain the very Catholic royal *cédula* which orders that for twenty years recent converts to our holy faith shall not be taken away with seals. This royal *cédula* is dated at Buen Retiro, May 14, of the said year of 1686. It is so very Catholic and so favorable to the new conquests and new conversions that I will insert here some of its notable paragraphs.

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[80] Important new data concerning Father Kino's negotiations with the authorities at Guadalajara is contained in an *expediente* of correspondence in the Archivo General de Indias (*A. G. I. Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-36.* Transcript in the Bancroft Library). It includes a report by the Audiencia to the King, July 23, 1686, in virtue of the real *cédula* of May 14, 1686 (quoted in next chapter); copy of the *cédula* of May 14, 1686, by which we are able to check Kino's copy; report to the Audiencia by Father Joseph de Azcarama, Franciscan, concerning frontier missions, October 9, 1686; negotiations of the Audiencia with various missionary organizations; petition of Eusebio Francisco Kino, "missionary named for the reduction and conversion to our Holy Faith of the Seris, Hiaquimas, and Pimas in the province of Sonora, Kingdom of Nueva Viscaya," regarding taking Indians under seal to work in mines, undated, but passed on by the Audiencia December 16, 1686; and petition of Father Azcarama, undated, but considered May 8, 1687.

Well, then, our most Catholic monarch, Don Carlos II, may God preserve him many most happy years, writes as follows:

Royal Cédula. Whereas,[91] in my Royal Council of the Indies information has been received that twenty-four leagues from Mexico the tribes of heathen Indians begin and that they continue without interruption through the provinces of Nueva España, Nueva Galicia, Nueva Biscaya, Nueva Mexico, etc.,[92] and [93] that care is not given to their conversion; and since this is the first and principal obligation of the ministers, to whose fulfillment they should give very particular care and attention, so that the neglect and omission which even here have been noted and experienced may not continue; since for this conversion no escort of soldiers is needed, as the natives show no resistance, and as some nations and districts assist with others; since this care is the first obligation of the Council, and is kept prominently in mind by it, as in the eighth ordinance I have charged it to do; and wishing to satisfy its conscience, in so far as it may be concerned, as I have satisfied my own by fulfilling so important an obligation, and by applying all means, endeavors, and requests possible, in order to secure the execution of a thing that is so serviceable to God, our Lord, who, in his great providence, always returns a very great and notable increase to my monarchy for what is spent from my royal estate in these new conversions; and wishing to comply with this obligation, which I regard as the principal one of my great desire, I have agreed to issue the present *cédula*, by which I order and command my viceroy of Nueva España and the presidents and judges of my Royal Audiencias of Mexico, Guadalaxara, and Guatemala, and the governors of Nueva Biscaya, that as soon as they shall receive this my *cédula* they shall exercise very especial care and application to the end that all the tribes of heathen Indians which may be found in the district and jurisdiction comprised in the government of each audiencia and government district, may be reduced and converted to our holy Catholic faith, each one providing, in so far as concerns him, that from now on their reduction and conversion be undertaken with the mildest and most effective means that can be employed and contrived, entrusting it to the ecclesiastics most satisfactory to them and of the virtue and spirit required for so very important a matter, giving to them for the purpose the assistance, favor, and aid that may be necessary, and encouraging them in it in the best manner possible, and promising in my name to all new converts that during the first twenty years of their reduction they will not be required to give tribute or to serve on estates or in mines, since this is one of the reasons why they refuse to be converted. And I charge my ministers to notify me at once of the receipt of this dispatch, of what may be done in virtue thereof, and of the condition which this matter may be assuming, so that upon receipt of this information the orders most important for its continuation may be given, because I desire that all time possible be gained in a matter of such importance and so serviceable to God and to me. Done at Buen Retiro, May 14, 1686. I, THE KING.

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[91] A comparison of this copy of the *cédula* with the official copy in A.G.I. Aud. de Guad., 67-1-36, shows that Kino has omitted numerous phrases of the original, as non-essential to his point, and has paraphrased others. Two examples are given in the two notes following.

[92] "Y pr. el nuebo Rno. de Leon asta la florida" is omitted by Kino here (see copy in A.G.I. Aud. Guad., 67-1-36).

[93] "*Y que entre campeche y Guatemala y sus costas del mar del Norte ay otras naciones de Yndios Jentiles y que teniendoles a la puerta y tan inmediatos,*" omitted by Kino (see *ibid.*).

CHAPTER III. MY ARRIVAL AT THESE MISSIONS OF SONORA, AND MY FIRST ENTRY INTO THIS PIMERIA, WITH THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL GONZALES

With this royal provision and royal *cédula*, which by its admirable Catholic zeal might well and should astonish and edify the whole world, I came in February of 1687 to these missions of Sonora, and went to Oposura to see and talk with the father visitor, who then was Father Manuel Gonzales.[94] I found in his Reverence such charity and so holy a zeal for the welfare of souls, that his Reverence in person came at once more than fifty leagues' journey to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which is five leagues from the old mission of Cucurpe, of the rectorate of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora. On the way we passed by the mining town of San Juan[95] and saw the Señor alcalde mayor, who, with the great respectfulness that characterizes him, gave obedience to the royal *cédula* and to the royal provision. Coming by the valley of Sonora we saw the father rector of the mission or rectorate, who then was Father Juan Muñoz de Burgos, and by the valley and pueblo of Opodepe, Tuape, and Cocorpe,[96] divisions or pueblos then administered by Father Josep[h] de Aguilar; and on the thirteenth of March, 1687,[97] we three Fathers together came to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Bamotze,[98] or de Cosari, having the day before notified the natives. Their governor was absent, but, nevertheless, they received us with all love, for, months and years before they had asked for fathers and holy baptism.

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[94] According to Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 252) "Kino went first to the *Ures*" where he arrived "early in 1687," and where he secured interpreters. For additional data concerning his arrival in Pimería Alta see volume II, 76-77, where it appears that Father Belmar entered with him.

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[95] Real de San Juan was situated some forty leagues eastward from Dolores, and an equal distance southward of Arispe. It was at this time the seat of government of the alcaldía mayor of Sonora.

[96] Cucurpe was then the frontier mission of Sonora at this time. Indeed, this fact is stated by Kino himself in his letter of May 13, 1687. The place, still in existence, is a few miles south of the site of mission Dolores, in the San Miguel River Valley.

[97] Bancroft states that the mission of N.S. de los Dolores was "founded" on the thirteenth of March. This may be true, in the sense of going through certain formalities of the founding. But none of the sources which I have seen state that even this was the case. Kino does not; Ortega states that on the thirteenth Kino reached the place where he founded the mission (*Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 246); Alegre says that from the Real de San Juan he went to the place where he afterward founded the mission (*Historia*, vol. III, 62). In his letter of May 13, 1687, Kino states that on the thirteenth Father González baptized one infirm Indian, but says nothing of the founding of the mission. See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 62, for more light.

[98] In his letter of May 13, 1687, Kino calls this place "[illegible] de Bamuchil" (Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil I, 29).

The following day[99] the father visitor, leaving us fathers and the children with a very paternal goodbye, returned toward Oposura to the necessary occupations of Holy Week, etc., suggesting to Father Aguilar and me that we should see later if there was opportunity to go somewhat further inland to seek and find a place where a second pueblo might be founded.

CHAPTER IV. EXPEDITION TO SAN YGNACIO DE CABORICA, SAN JOSEPH DE LOS HIMIRIS, AND NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS

Upon this advice of the father visitor we at once, the very same day, went inland to the west, and after going ten leagues found the very good post of Caborica,[100] inhabited by affable people, which by order of the father visitor we named San Ygnacio.[101] Then, turning to the north, we found another good post, with plenty of docile and domesticated people. This place we named San Joseph de los Himires.[102] To the east we found another, likewise of industrious Indians, which we named Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. It is distant from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores seven leagues, to the north.[103] In all places they received with love the Word of God for the sake of their eternal salvation.[104] We returned, thanks to the Lord, safe and rejoicing, to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.[105] Father Aguilar went on to Cucurpe, and I began to catechize the people and to baptize children. The governor of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores came from inland and by him and others I sent to various and even remote parts of this Pimeria divers messages and friendly invitations, requesting that they should endeavor likewise to become Christians, saying that for them would be the good and the advantage, for I had come to aid them in order that they might be eternally saved.

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[99] From this time until January, 1691, Kino's movements have been little known (see *Apostólicos Afanes*, 247-249; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 62-73; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 253), and the contribution of the *Favores Celestiales* at this point is therefore highly important. It is supplemented by some details in the letter of May 13, 1687.

[100] Bancroft says, "It seems to have been called S. Ignacio Caborca at first, but . . . as there was another pueblo known as Caborca," etc. (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. I, 253). Is it not an error of the *Afanes* that Caborica was called Caborca? Caborca is on the lower Altar River, a few leagues from the Gulf. For frequent references to this place, see "Index."

[101] In his letter of May 13 Kino states that the name San Ignacio was given to the village which the natives called Himires. Plainly either the letter or the *Favores* is wrong, and there is no doubt that it is the letter. In that document he gives Himires as the first of the three places visited. It seems that, writing two months after the visit, he got the names of the places confused.

[102] San José de los Hymeris (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 62); San José de Imuris, on the Río San Ignacio, some twenty-five or thirty miles across the mountains from Dolores (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 253); San Joseph and Los Remedios were named on the fifteenth (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

CHAPTER V. FIRST OPPOSITION EXPERIENCED IN THIS NEW CONVERSION

Being always very much aided in everything by the great charity of Father Joseph de Aguilar, by Divine grace everything went, on the part of the natives, with entire prosperity, pleasantness, and satisfaction, and there were welcome additions,[106] but on the part of others there was no lack of hostility, which has endured up to the present day. A false report was despatched to the Señor alcalde-mayor of the mining town of San Juan, that these natives, on the coming of the father missionary, had moved far away. These serious but false reports reached the father visitor, Manuel Gonzales, troubling his Reverence greatly, and he wrote to Tuape, where the three fathers, Joseph de Aguilar, Antonio de Roxas, and I were holding Holy Week,[106a] with more than one hundred Pimas of this new pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Of the Pimas there were about forty[107] recently baptized infants and children, whom the Spanish ladies of the mining town of Opodepe dressed richly and adorned with their ornaments and best jewels, like new Christians, for the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, to the great delight of all; nor was there the least truth in the pretended withdrawal of the natives, which so falsely was reported to the mining town of San Juan. All this we wrote to the father visitor for his consolation, we three fathers signing the letter.

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[103] Alegre says "seven leagues east" (*Historia*, vol. III, 62); Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 246), gives it as north. Bancroft says "between Dolores and Imuris" (*op. cit.*, vol. I, 253). See "Map" and "Index."

[104] At this point Alegre falls into evident error, stating that later N.S. de los Dolores and San Ignacio were put into Kino's charge, the other places being abandoned (*Historia*, vol. III, 62). Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 247) correctly states that Los Remedios and Dolores remained in Kino's charge, "*que siempre hasta su muerte administró el padre Kino.*" See *post*, page 118, where Kino states that he had already taken charge of Los Remedios in January, 1692.

[105] On March 26 (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

[106] By May 13, 1687, Kino had baptized at Dolores thirty children and youths, including two sons of the cacique. Before the end of April he had built a chapel (Bethaus) and "a very poor parsonage (Pfarrhof)." (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

CHAPTER VI. SECOND OPPOSITION AND DISCORD SOWN IN PIMERIA

Returning from Holy Week and Easter at Tuape to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I went inland to San Ygnacio and San Joseph de los Himires, where in all places things were going very well, in spiritual and temporal matters, in Christian teaching, beginnings of baptisms, buildings, planting of crops, etc., but in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios I found the people so disconsolate that they said to me openly that they neither wished to be Christians nor to have a missionary father. On asking them why, they answered me, first, because they had heard it said that the fathers ordered the people hanged and killed; second, because they required so much labor and sowing for their churches that no opportunity was left the Indians to sow for themselves; third, because they pastured so many cattle that the watering places were drying up; fourth, because they killed the people with the holy oils; fifth, because they deceived the Indians with false promises and words, and because I had falsely said that I had a letter or royal *cédula* of the king our Sovereign, whereas I had no such letter, for if I had I would have shown it to the Señor lieutenant of Bacanuche. These chimeras, discords, and altercations disturbed me very much, but I recognized at once whence they might have come; and although the father visitor and I had shown the royal provision which I carried, with the royal *cédula* inserted, to the Señor alcalde-mayor in the mining town of San Juan, which was sufficient there, within two days (on the tenth of May) I went with the justices[108] of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to the mining town of Bacanuche,[109] which is twenty leagues away. I showed the royal provision and the royal *cédula* to the Señor lieutenant, Captain Francisco Pacheco Zevallos, in whom I found all kindness, and told him of what had happened in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios because of the untruths which had been spread so falsely during the preceding days against the fathers. And gradually things were remedied and the calumnies of the malicious and of the common enemy hushed, and although there was no lack of stories and pretended dangers from persons of little loyalty, the natives of this Pimeria became so inclined to our holy faith that from places further inland, from El Tupo, El Tubutama, and other parts, they asked for fathers and holy baptism.

[106a] Holy Week in 1687 fell between March 23 and March 30.

[107] It seems that Kino took his neophytes from Dolores to Tuape to celebrate Holy Week. This may have been because his mission was only imperfectly established.

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[108] These were evidently native officials.

[109] Bacanuche, a real, or mining camp, about twenty leagues northeast of Dolores and the same distance north of Arispe and south of Cananea. It is situated on the Bacanuche River, a branch of the Sonora.

CHAPTER VII. THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL GONZALES, VISITS THESE THREE NEW PUEBLOS OF THIS PIMERIA, FOR WHICH FOUR OTHER MISSIONARY FATHERS ARE ASKED AND OBTAINED

Because of the news of the good beginnings and of the baptisms of infants at this new mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the father provincial, Bernave de Soto, who had been missionary for many years, was so much comforted that his Reverence wrote me that he would very willingly exchange his office of provincial for mine of missionary, in order to be able to baptize children, since in the provincial office his time was wasted, while here in the missions there was profit.

On January 19, 1689, the father visitor, Manuel Gonzales, came on his first visit to these new pueblos. He went to San Ygnacio, San Joseph, Cocospora, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, etc., and would have gone much further inland, even to the tribe of El Soba, if the bogs caused by the spring rains[110] and those of the River of San Ygnacio had not spoiled the roads for us and obstructed the passes. In Nuestra Señora de los Dolores he was so pleased by the structure of the church and the house which had been begun, the Christian teaching, the devotion at prayers, the book of baptisms, the singing school, the rich lands and crops, etc., that his Reverence said and wrote that he had not seen a new mission which enjoyed, in so short a time, so many conveniences and such progress in spiritual and temporal matters. Moreover, a little later his Reverence, together with the Señor alcalde-mayor, Blas del Castillo, asked and obtained from Mexico four new fathers for this Pimeria, and assigned them to the following four new missions:[111] Father Luys María Pineli to San Ygnacio, Santa María Magdalena, and San Miguel del Tupo; Father Antonio Arras[111a] to San Pedro del Tubutama and San Antonio de Uquetoa; Father Pedro San Doval to San Lorenzo del Saric, and San Ambrosio del Tucubabia; and Father Juan del Castillejo to Santiago de Cocospera, San Lazaro, and Santa María. They came in and accomplished some good in this Pimeria, but the opposition, obstacles, and false reports to the effect that so many fathers were not needed, since the people were very few, very much retarded and almost entirely put a stop to matters. And now enter the new government, the new father provincial, and the new father visitor.

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[110] The details given in this chapter are almost entirely omitted from the standard authorities, and, as will be seen, Bancroft falls into positive error in connection with the matters discussed.

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[111] Bancroft, citing the *Apostólicos Afanes*, writes "but from the very first years exaggerated and absurd rumors of their [the Indians'] ferocity are vaguely alluded to as having kept away other padres and greatly troubled the pioneer, who, nevertheless *kept on alone* [the italics are mine], and before 1690 had fine churches in each of his villages;" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 253). In his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 352, Bancroft writes: "For six years he toiled alone, till fathers Campos and Januske came in 1693 to take charge of San Ignacio and Tubutama; and only eight padres besides Kino worked in this field during the latter's life, there being rarely, if ever, more than four at the same time." Ortega correctly states that the new missionaries arrived, but does not give details. He adds that they could not remain because it was judged that they were more needed elsewhere (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 247). Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 74) puts under 1690 the order for the retirement of the missionaries from "Los Remedios and S. José de los Hymeris." For both of these, see "Index."

[111a] "Arias." See *post*, page 118 and volume ii, 241.

BOOK II. VISIT AND TRIENNIUM OF THE FATHER VISITOR JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, 1690, 1691, 1692

CHAPTER I. THE NEW FATHER VISITOR, JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, COMES TO VISIT THE FOUR FATHERS OF THIS PIMERIA IN THEIR DISTRICTS

The new government having entered, and Father Ambrosio Oddon having come as provincial, his Reverence designated Father Juan María de Salvatierra, who was stationed in Los Chinipas,[110] as visitor of these missions of Sonora and Sinaloa, and me, though unworthy, as rector of this rectorate or mission of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora and of this Pimeria. His Reverence having heard so many reports for and against this Pimeria, he ordered Father Visitor Juan María Salvatierra to come and visit it and acquaint himself with it. The father visitor came to this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the twenty-fourth of December, 1690.[111] He held Christmas service here and sang mass in this new and capacious church, although it was not entirely completed. He then went inland for more than forty leagues, visiting this Pimeria for a month.[114] We went in from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, a distance of seven leagues. I was already taking this pueblo under my care, for the people were still much deceived because of the discord that had been sown against the fathers. We went on to the valley and pueblo of San Joseph de los Himires, a distance of six leagues, at which place was Father Pedro de San Doval, for the time being, with seventy families. We went down to San Ygnacio, a distance of three leagues, and to Santa María Magdalena and Tupo, where Father Luys Maria Pineli was. There were many people in all these places.

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[110] Bancroft locates the old mission of Chínipa (Chínipas) on an upper branch of the Mayo River (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 228). Today Chínipas is the name of a branch of the Fuerte River flowing through the same general mountain region. The Chínipas mission was Salvatierra's principal station before he went to California. Chínipas is not to be confused with Chinapa, north of Arispe.

[111] Bancroft (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254) following *Alegre* (*Historia*, vol. iii, 73) states that Salvatierra "met Kino at Dolores in the spring of 1691." The *Favores* thus corrects this slight mistake. *At this point* Bancroft falls into a more serious error, refusing to follow the authorities who had seen the *Favores* of whose existence he was unaware. Commenting on Salvatierra's visit in 1691 he says that *Alegre* "strangely speaks of Tubutama, Saric, and other rancherias as missions already founded, although at most they could only have been visited by Kino and a few children baptized. Still more

We continued to San Pedro del Tubutama, a journey of ten leagues from El Tupo, where Father Antonio Arias was stationed, and found more than five hundred souls. Some of the chief men of the neighboring tribe of El Soba also came to see the father visitor, and, as we celebrated there the Pascua de Reyes, I preached to them from the text *Reges de Saba venient*;[115] and we discussed the reduction of the Pimas of El Soba, who extend on the west and northwest to the Sea of California. We proceeded to El Saric and Tucubavia, a

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strangely he speaks of padres being ordered to retire from Remedios and Imuris, although there had been no padres there at all" (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254). From the above paragraph and the statements on page 116 it is clear that Bancroft is mistaken, not to mention his temerity in trying to establish a negative by mere assertion.

[114] From the next paragraph it is clear that the month covered Kino's trip with Salvatierra, and that Kino does not mean that Salvatierra first made a trip alone.

[115] "Kings come from Saba" (*Isaias*, lx, 6. *Omnes de Saba venient*. *Psalm* lxxi, 10. *Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent*). Both passages are used in the "grace at meals" on the feast and during the octave of the Epiphany. The intermingling of the texts is therefore quite natural.

journey of ten leagues, where we counted more than seven hundred souls, who received us everywhere with great pleasure to themselves and to us. Almost everywhere they gave the father visitor infants to baptize, and presented us with many supplies, etc.

CHAPTER II. THE SOBAIPURIS AND OTHER NATIVES COME FROM THE NORTH TO MEET US[116]

It was our intention to turn back from El Tucubavia to Cocospera, but from the north some messengers or couriers of the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, more than forty leagues' journey, and from San Cayetano del Tumagacori,[117] came to meet us, with some crosses, which they gave us, kneeling with great veneration, and asking us on behalf of all their people to go to their rancherías also. The father visitor said to me that those crosses which they carried were tongues that spoke volumes and with great force, and that we could not fail to go where by means of them they called us. Whereupon we ascended to the Valley of Guebavi,[118] a journey of about fifteen leagues, and arrived at the ranchería of San Cayetano del Tumagacori, where there were some of the Sobaipuris headmen, who had come twenty and twenty-five leagues from the north. In San Cayetano they had prepared us three arbors, one in which to say mass, another in which to sleep, and the third for a kitchen. There were more than forty houses close together. Some infants were baptized, and the father visitor gave good hopes to all that they should obtain the fathers, the holy baptism, and the boon of their eternal salvation which they requested. When his Reverence had seen so many people, so docile and so affable, with such beautiful, fertile, and pleasant valleys, inhabited by industrious Indians, he said to me these words: "My Father Rector, not only shall the removal from this Pimeria of any of the four fathers assigned to it not be considered, but four more shall come, and by the divine grace I shall try to be one of them." We went on to the ranchería of Guebaui and to the valley and ranchería of Santa María, a journey of fifteen leagues, where we remained five days, catechizing and baptizing infants and adults.[119] We then came to Cocospera, and this new pueblo was given over to Father San Doval. In all of these journeys the father visitor and I talked together of suspended California, saying that these very fertile lands and valleys of this Pimeria would be the support of the scantier and more sterile lands of California, concerning which he made a report to Mexico.[120]

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[116] For an account of this event see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 73. Bancroft is in a state of doubt at this point. He says: "Kino may have crossed the line as far as Tumacácori with Salvatierra in 1691, and he is said to have reached Bac in 1692; but the records of these earliest entradas are vague" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 355). This vagueness is now dispelled by Kino's writings.

[117] Tumacácori (Tumagácori) is located in the Santa Cruz valley between Mission San Xavier del Bac and Nogales. The ruins of the old mission are still there. See "Map" and "Index."

[118] For the location of Guevavi see the "Map." The ruins of the Guevavi mission were still visible when the spot was visited by the editor a few years ago.

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[119] This passage, or more probably that in *Apostolicos Afanes*, 249, seems to be the basis for the statement of Velasco (*Sonora*, 139) that the Guevavi mission was founded during this trip (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 254). Manje makes it appear that Salvatierra and Kino went no farther than Tumacacori on this *entrada*. As Manje's record is that of a contemporary diary, it should not be considered lightly, but here it is manifestly wrong.

[120] Clavijero states that Salvatierra's interest in California came through information given him by Father Kino regarding the natives (*Hist. de la Antigua ó Baja California*, 59). Reference is evidently made to the conferences had during this trip. See also *Apostolicos Afanes*, 250; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 74; and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 254.

CHAPTER III. REPORT OF THE CONDITION OF THIS PIMERIA BY THE FATHER VISITOR TO THE FATHER PROVINCIAL, AMBROSIO ODDON, AND THE REPLY OF THE FATHER PROVINCIAL

JANUARY, 1691. We remained in Cocospera five days more, at the end of January, [16]91, catechizing and baptizing the infants and the adults who had learned the prayers and the Christian doctrine, and preparing and writing a report of what had been sent to Mexico and to the father provincial, Ambrosio Oddon. He, in virtue of what the father visitor wrote and reported, and of my letter, replied to me in the following words:

> I thank your Reverence from my heart for the holy zeal with which you devote yourself to the welfare of these souls, as shown by the relation or report that I have received from the father visitor, Juan Maria Salvatierra. There is no reason for growing weary because things pertaining to the service of God have their obstacles, so much the more noticeable when they are vested with zeal and founded on erring judgement.

The father visitor having left us all instructed and consoled by his holy visit to this Pimeria, his Reverence went to visit the rectorate of the Holy Martyrs of Japan, commending to me, with his holy zeal, the reduction of the Sobaipuris of the north and of the Sobas to the west, and, with respect to California, even the building of a small bark in which to go there. His Reverence went afterwards to his mission of Chinipas, while here the customary obstacles and opposition were so great that when, as usual, the Hocomes, Janos, and Sumas carried off various herds and droves from this province and its frontiers, these offenses were imputed, though falsely, to the Pimas, and their conversion and the coming of the missionary fathers were completely prevented.[185]

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[185] For the same matter see Alegre, vol. III, 72-73, who adds the Chinarras.

CHAPTER IV. JOURNEY NORTHWARD TO THE SOBAIPURIS

AUGUST 23, 1692. In spite of the obstacles which were present, and seeing that the whole of Pimeria was quiet, during the last part of August and the first part of September, 1692, I went in, with fifty pack-animals, my servants, and some justices, to the Sobaipuris, both of the north and of the northeast. The latter are in the valleys of the river of Quiburi, to the east, and the former are in the valley and river of Santa Maria, to the west. The journey to the former was more than eighty leagues by very level road. I found the natives very affable and friendly, and particularly so in the principal rancheria of San Xavier del Bac, which contains more than eight hundred souls.

I spoke to them of the Word of God, and on a map of the world showed them the lands, the rivers, and the seas over which we fathers had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our holy faith. And I told them also how in ancient times the Spaniards were not Christians, how Santiago came to teach them the faith, and how for the first fourteen years he was able to baptize only a few, because of which the holy apostle was discouraged, but that the most holy Virgin appeared to him and consoled him, telling him that the Spaniards would convert the rest of the people of the world. And I showed them on the map of the world how the Spaniards and the faith had come by sea to Vera Cruz, and had gone in to Puebla and to Mexico, Guadalaxara, Sinaloa, and Sonora, and now to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Cosari, in the land of the Pimas, where there were already many persons bap-

and changes Sumas to Yumas. Also *Apostólicos Afanes*, 250-252, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 253-254.

tized, a house, church, bells, and images of saints, plentiful supplies, wheat, maize, and many cattle and horses; that they could go and see it all, and even ask at once of their relatives, my servants, who were with me. They listened with pleasure to these and other talks concerning God, heaven, and hell, and told me that they wished to be Christians, and gave me some infants to baptize. These Sobaipuris are in a very fine valley of the Rio de Santa Maria,[108] to the west.

I then passed on to the other Sobaipuris, of the east, on the Rio de San Joseph de Terrenate, or de Quiburi,[109] who, in their chief rancheria, that of San Salvador del Baicatcan, are thirty leagues distant. Captain Coro and the rest of them received me with all kindness. It is true that I found them still somewhat less docile than the foregoing of the west.

CHAPTER V. EXPEDITION OR MISSION WESTWARD TO THE NATION OF EL SOBA, EVEN TO THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, UNTIL CALIFORNIA ITSELF WAS SEEN

DECEMBER 11 of 1693. In the meantime, Father Diego de Almonazir came as provincial and Juan Muños de Burgos as father visitor, and from the eleventh until the twenty-fourth of December I went west to the Pima nation which they call that of El Soba, who is their chief cacique, or head and captain of these more than four thousand Indians.[110] He has always been very valiant in various wars that he has had with the Pimas of the east, and since the time when, ten or twelve years ago, those of El Soba killed the governor called El Podenco, of this ranchería, now pueblo, of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, they had been very hostile to each other. Our Lord was pleased, however, that we should restore peace between them. Thereupon, I entered with Father Agustin de Campos, Capt. Sebastian Romero, and my servants, and found the people affable, except that in some places they appeared afraid, wondering at the new and white faces, which they had never seen before.

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[108] The modern Santa Cruz River, which flows north from the Sonora border, past Guebavi, Tumacacori, and San Xavier del Bac, and is lost in the Arizona plateau before reaching the Gila.

[109] The modern San Pedro River, a branch of the Gila.

[110] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 251) regards this entry as belonging under 1698, evidently considering it out of place in the narrative. Bancroft, for reasons which he does not state, but which may be inferred, suggests that the expedition was more likely made early in 1695 (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254).

After about eight leagues' journey we came to a little peak which we named El Nasareno, and from its sum-

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But the entry is evidently correct as here given, the trouble being with that in chapter vi referring to an expedition in July. Confining ourselves for the present to the *Favores* text, it is to be noted that in chapter vi, Kino uses the phrase "This same year of 93," and that chapter vii is headed "Second and Third Expeditions to the Sea of California." From these two items we would infer that Kino meant to state that only one expedition had been made to the gulf before that of February, 1694, and that this was in 1693. And there is no doubt that this was the case. But the confusion makes a somewhat extended explanation necessary.

For the expeditions of 1694 to the coast Manje's diaries, preserved in the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, are the unquestioned authority. They make it clear that Kino and Campos had made an expedition in 1693, as Kino relates, but that only one had been made (Capitulo i); that after this trip Kino hastened to the Real de San Juan to get military support for the continuation of his discoveries and missionary work on the coast (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. i); and that Kino and Manje made three expeditions to the coast in 1694. The first of these was made in February, by Kino, Kapus, and Manje, when they [again?] climbed the Cerro de Nasareno and explored the coast. In March Kino and Manje made a second trip, during which the beginning of boat-building, as described by Kino, was made, while Manje explored the coast. In June they went the third time, Kino to supervise the boat-building while Manje explored. But the building of the boat was suspended by order of the Father Visitor, Juan de Burgos (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, capitulos ii and iii).

Thus I conclude that Kino's statements in chapter v are correct; that in chapters v-vii he gives the correct number of expeditions for 1693 and 1694, but that the trip spoken of in chapter vi, as of July, 1693, was clearly that of June, 1694, and that the last one mentioned in chapter vii was that of June, 1694.

mit on the fifteenth of December we saw clearly more than twenty-five continuous leagues of the land of California, for it is not more than fifteen or eighteen leagues across to the principal ranchería. At the request of Father Antonio Leal, who was in Arispe, we named it La Consepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca, and his Reverence offered to our Lady the mass of the day of San Francisco Xavier for the good success of this expedition to Caborca.

CHAPTER VI. DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

On April 26 of this same year of [16]93, this new church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was solemnly dedicated. To this ceremony came the father rector of Matape, Marcos de Loyola, the father visitor, Juan Muños de Burgos, who said mass, and Father George Lostinski, of San Ygnacio, who preached. Likewise there came very many Pimas from the north and from the west.

In July,[129] also, I went inland to the nation of El Soba with lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, and we began the construction of a bark, cutting the timbers and some large planks.[130] The rest of the timbers, flooring, and futtocks were made here in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with the idea of carrying the whole bark in four parts to the sea by mules, and there to put it together, nail it, calk it, and pass to the nearby California. But afterward opposition likewise delayed and hindered matters, although our Lord was able to order other things, even better, as will be seen later in connection with what is already being done in California.

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[129] As stated in the note above, this was clearly the expedition of March-April, 1694, the details of which are described in Manje's diary in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, vol. II, cap. III. This paragraph in Kino's Ms. is, therefore, out of place.

[130] The details of this expedition are described by Manje in his diary, *op. cit.*, cap. I.

CHAPTER VII. SECOND AND THIRD EXPEDITIONS TO THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA

FEBRUARY, 1694. In February, 1694, I made another expedition to the same waters of the Sea of California, in company with Father Marcos Antonio Kapus,[126] who was stationed in Cucurpe, and Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje. We again saw very clearly the same California and its principal and larger hills. We named them San Marcos, San Matheo, San Juan (for the name of San Lucas is already given to the Cape of California), and San Antonio, as may be seen on the map. The natives of the nation of El Soba we found so friendly that, having come thirty, forty, and fifty leagues' journey from the north to see us, they gave us their infants to baptize.

A few months later[127] I made another expedition with Lieut. Juan Matheo Manje, to this nation and to the sea, and we discovered the good port of Santa Sabina on the day of that saint.

During these months and the preceding ones there was built in La Consepcion del Caborica a capacious earth-covered hall of adobe and earth, and wheat and maize were sown for the father whom they were asking for and hoping to obtain.

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[126] Marcus Anton Kappus [Kapus, Keppus, Khappus] was an Austrian, born at Steinbüchel, in Krain, 1657. He entered the Jesuit order October 27, 1676; became prominent in the Sonora missions; died November 20, 1717. A letter by him dated at Mátape, June 20, 1699, is in Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, num. 56, Theil ii, 86. See *ibid.*, Theil i, 100, ii, 77, vii, 78, and Huonder, *op. cit.*, p. 120; also Sommervogel, Bibliothèque.

[127] This was evidently the third expedition of 1694, described by Manje, in his diary, *op. cit.*, cap. iii. During this journey Manje explored the coast. Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, 246-249) gives interesting data concerning Caborca, including a picture of the old church. The title of this valuable book is peculiarly inappropriate, since Lumholtz's travels were chiefly over "old trails," most of which were well known to Father Kino more than two hundred years ago. Compare his map with mine.

CHAPTER VIII. EXPEDITION OR MISSION TO THE NORTH AND NORTHWEST FOR MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES, AS FAR AS TO THE RIO GRANDE AND THE CASA GRANDE, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE TWO NEW NATIONS, THE OPA AND THE COCOMARICOPA

In November, 1694, I went inland[120] with my servants and some justices of this Pimeria, as far as the *casa grande*, as these Pimas call it, which is on the large River of Hila that flows out of Nuevo Mexico and has its source near Acoma. This river and this large house and the neighboring houses are forty-three leagues beyond and to the northwest of the Sobaipuris of San Francisco Xavier del Bac. The first ranchería, that of El Tusonimo, we named La Encarnacion, as we arrived there to say mass on the first Sunday in Advent; and because many other Indians came to see us from the ranchería of El Coatoydag, which was four leagues further on, we named the latter San Andres, as the following day was the feast of that holy apostle.[128a] All were affable and docile people. They told us of two friendly nations living further on, all down the river to the west, and to the northwest on the Rio Azul, and still further, on the Rio Colorado. These nations are the Opas and Cocomaricopas. They speak a language very different [from that of the Pimas], though it is very clear, and as there were some who knew both languages very well, I at once and with ease made a vocabulary of the said tongue, and also a map of those lands, measuring the sun with the astrolabe.

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[120] Manje was not on this journey with Father Kino, but in June, 1694, while Kino was at Caborca, Manje had explored northward from San Pedro del Tubutama, going through the native settlements of Guaibur, Saric, Busanic, and Tucubavia. He says at this point, "hasta aqui es lo mas q havia entrado e llegado 3 años antes el R. Po. Juan Maria de Salvatierra en su Visita" (*op. cit.*, Ms. p. 26). But note that Kino gives circumstantial details of a visit with Salvatierra to Tumacácori and Guevavi. Neither does Manje mention Kino's journey of August-September, 1692 (for what reason is not clear). From Tucubavia Manje continued on to Gubo and Cups, where he heard of the Casas Grandes to the north, and where he turned southward through Moicaqui to Caborca (Diary, in Manje, *op. cit.*, 28).

In May, 1694, Lieutenant Antonio Solis went north among the Sobaipuris of the Rio de Terrenate, and crossed the Sierra del Comedio to San Xavier del Bac (Manje, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). The importance of this chapter in the *Favores*, as placing on a solid foundation the assertion that Kino made the expedition, and as giving some of its details, is considerable. Manje makes only brief mention of the fact that the trip was made, and Bancroft is skeptical of the more complete account in the *Afanes*. Its soundness is now established (Manje, *Historia*, 34; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 252-253; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 355; *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, 259).

As has already been seen, Manje, in 1694, had made an excursion northward to Tucubavia, where he had heard of the Gila River and the Casa Grande. According to Manje, Kino was skeptical of the truth of the story, until it was verified by some Pimas of San Xavier del Bac who went to Dolores to visit him, and who accompanied him as guides on the expedition (Manje, *op. cit.*, 34).

The *casa grande*[129] is a four-story building, as large as a castle and equal to the largest church in these lands of Sonora. It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and, beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the east or Casas Grandes, and that from there they turned towards the south and southwest, finally founding the great city and court of

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[128a] Bancroft's mistrust of the *Afanes* leads him here into needless error. He states (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259) that it is "implied" by the *Afanes* that Kino named these two rancherías. But the *Afanes* clearly asserts this fact, and does not merely imply it. I believe that the *Favores* is the only authority which identifies these rancherías with the native names.

[129] On the Ms. of the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* there is a drawing of the Casa Grande, presumably by Manje (p. 57). There is also one made in 1776 on one of the original diaries of Juan Bautista de Anza. Father Kino evidently had more knowledge of the Coronado expedition than Bancroft gives him credit for (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259).

Mexico. Close to this *casa grande* there are thirteen smaller houses, somewhat more dilapidated, and the ruins of many others, which make it evident that in ancient times there had been a city here. On this occasion and on later ones I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities, with many broken *metates* and jars, charcoal, etc. These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza, who in his long pilgrimage came clear to the Bacapa ranchería of these coasts, which is about sixty leagues southwest from this *casa grande*, and about twenty leagues from the Sea of California. The guides or interpreters must have given his Reverence the information which he has in his book concerning these Seven Cities, although certainly at that time, and for a long while before, they must have been deserted. The natives and children of the Pimas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas were very well pleased.[126a]

[126a] Manje gives the following description of the ruins about Casa Grande in 1697. "We continued west, and after going four leagues more arrived at noon at the 'casas grandes', within which mass was said by Father Kino, who had not yet breakfasted. One of the houses is a large edifice whose principal room in the middle is of four stories, those adjoining its four sides being of three. Its walls are two varas thick, are made of strong cement and clay, and are so smooth on the inside that they resemble planed boards, and so polished that they shine like Puebla pottery. The angles of the windows, which are square, are very true and without jambs or cross pieces of wood, and they must have made them with a mold or *frame*. The same is true of the doors, although they are narrow, by which we know it to be the work of Indians. It is 36 paces long and 21 wide. It is well built, as is seen from the drawing on the margin, and has foundations. An arquebus-shot away are seen twelve other half fallen houses, also having thick walls, and all with their roofs burned." (*Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, cap. 5). See also Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 340-342; Hodge, *Handbook*, part i, 209, and authorities there cited.

BOOK III. ARRIVAL OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA AT THESE NEW CONVERSIONS; HIS APOSTOLIC FERVOR, WORK, ZEAL, AND HOLY LETTERS; HIS GLORIOUS, INNOCENT DEATH; AND VARIOUS LETTERS PROPHETIC OF THE GREAT FRUIT OF THESE CONVERSIONS

CHAPTER I. EXPEDITION OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA TO HIS NEW MISSION OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONSEPSION DEL CABORICA[180]

Although I have written another little treatise[181] of more than twenty sheets concerning the glorious, innocent death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, I may say here, in brief, that this very zealous, apostolic man was of the very best blood of Cicilia,[182] and now his blood is very glorious and most fortunate, since it was shed in the apostolic ministry, preaching and spreading our holy Catholic faith. The venerable father came from Mexico[183] to the new conversions of this Pimeria about the middle of October, 1694, and I, setting out by order of the superiors from this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on October 19,[184] went on the twenty-first to leave his Reverence in the new district that was assigned to him, which was that of Nuestra Señora de la Consepsion del Caborica, in the nation of El Soba. It is forty-four leagues west from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and only twenty from the Sea of California, whither the venerable father, to his own great pleasure, aspired and hoped to go some day. Midway between Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and La Consepsion there are two other districts, that of San Ygnacio, where Father Agustin de Campos was and still is stationed, and that of Tubutama, administered by Father Daniel Ganusque.

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[180] On the coming of Father Saeta to Pimería, the founding of the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Caborca, and the events there before the death of Father Saeta, the following eight chapters are by far the best account. Hitherto the account by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes* (254-257), which is based directly on these chapters, has been the best. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 35-36) gives some additional details, but his chronology is defective. By following him instead of the *Afanes*, Bancroft assigns the founding of the mission to the year 1693, though he mentions the contradictory evidence in the *Afanes* in a footnote (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259). The authenticity of Kino's account, based on the original letters quoted here, is unquestionable.

[181] So far as the editor is aware, this pamphlet has not been known to earlier students, nor is its present whereabouts known to the editor. See the "Bibliography." See also volume ii, 158.

[182] The Ms. reads "Guila"; the *Afanes* reads "Cicilia," which is probably correct.

We went in by the most direct road, leaving these two districts to the right. And it was a particular comfort and a great wonder to the venerable father to see the great affability of such friendly people as we found everywhere, for they immediately gave him some infants to baptize. The first one that he baptized he named after his most beloved patron, San Francisco Xavier; another one after San Ygnacio; another, after San Pedro; another, Maria; another, Rosalia, etc. Three leagues this way is the ranchería or newly begun pueblo of San Diego del Pibquin,[128a] which also belonged to the mission of La Consepcion. In both places the children received us with great pleasure to themselves and to us, and with many crosses and arches placed all along those pleasant and level roads.

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[183] Manje states that he came in consequence of the sending to Mexico of his own reports and the reports of others, by the missionaries and General Domingo Jironza, in consequence of which alms were furnished by the royal treasury (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro II, 35-36).

[184] Manje makes it appear that Saeta made his alms-gathering trip in Sonora before he went to Caborca, not arriving there till January, 1695. But from the letters which follow this is clearly not the case (Manje, *op. cit.*, 36).

CHAPTER II. FIRST HOLY FERVOR AND ZEAL, AND ONE OF THE HOLY LETTERS OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

The venerable father began at once, with admirable and holy fervor, the spiritual and temporal administration of his new mission, teaching the Christian doctrine by means of the interpreter, teaching prayers by means of a *temastián*, and beginning at the same time the construction of a chapel or little church, he laboring personally on the work with his own holy hands, *Laborantis manibus nostris*,[129] as Saint Paul said. He made a good garden, a wheatfield, and later a farm,[130] etc. Eight or nine most fervent holy letters which the venerable father wrote me, which still exist and are in my possession, and which I look upon and preserve as relics, make known his most tender and most exquisite apostolic charity, zeal, and holy fervor. Eight days after entering La Consepcion, he wrote me the following:

> Through the mercy of God I have sufficient courage to endure joyfully everything for His love. The children, because of their conduct, give me a thousand comforts, which is what concerns me, as your Reverence can read in the enclosed letter for the father visitor, from which, together with the cited report of our

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[128a] "Pitquin," Hist. del Nayarit, 317, but this is clearly a typographical error, for in that work Pitquin is the regular form. It is not the same as Pitic, now Hermosillo.

[129] "Laboring with our hands" (I *Cor.*, iv, 12. *Et Laboramus operantes manibus nostris.* "And we labor, working with our hands").

[130] According to Manje (*op. cit.*, 36) Saeta at first occupied the old house which had been built during the expeditions of 1693 and 1694 to Caborca.

coming to this new mission,[187] you can learn the rest, also. The children have made five hundred adobes, etc.

Thus far the venerable father. At the same time the superiors determined that the new missions of this Pimeria, with the neighboring district of Cocurpe, should form and be a separate rectorate,[188] and Father Marcos Antonio Kapus, who is at present rector of Matape, was named its rector. It is called the rectorate or mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, for this district, with that of Cocospera, already had six fathers.

CHAPTER III. THE VENERABLE FATHER GOES OUT TO SEEK ALMS FOR HIS NEW MISSION AND FOR THE BUILDING OF HIS NEW CHURCH

NOVEMBER 15, 1694. Afterward, in the middle of November, the venerable father determined to go to collect among the other fathers, of the old missions, alms for his new district and the building of his church, etc. I had promised him and proceeded to give him six[ty][188a] head of cattle and an equal number of sheep and goats, sixty *fanegas* of wheat and maize, a drove of mares, etc. His Reverence came to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and went on to Cucurpe, whence he wrote me the following letter on November 15.

SECOND LETTER, NOVEMBER 15, 1694. The father rector has taken much comfort from the good news that I have sent him concerning the happy beginnings of my mission, and he gives me ample authority to procure, through the charity of our fathers, its temporal advancement. In order that it may prosper

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[187] Manje refers to "un Cuaderno de apuntes del Padre" in which the success of the mission is treated (Manje, *op. cit.*, 36).

[188] The erection of the new rectorate is, apparently, not mentioned by the other authorities, at least in this connection. The five missionaries in Pimeria were evidently Kino at Dolores, Saeta at Caborca, Campos at Magdalena and San Ignacio, Janusque at Tubutama, and Sandoval at Cocospera.

[188a] This clearly should be sixty. See page 136.

> in a spiritual way, your Reverence, with your fervent charity and zeal, will not cease asking God for its happy success, so that all may redound to the greater glory of God and the spiritual welfare of our most beloved children. If there should be an occasion, give them my warmest greetings, etc.

Thus far the venerable father, who went at once to the other three extensive rectorates, that of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora, that of San Francisco de Borja, and that of the Holy Martyrs of Japan, and everywhere, especially in Matape, his very fine zeal being recognized, he was given liberal alms.

CHAPTER IV. THIRD VERY TENDER LETTER OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA, IN WHICH HIS MORE THAN PATERNAL AFFECTION FOR HIS CHILDREN IS SHOWN

THIRD LETTER. On January 19, from the district of Guepaca,[139] Sonora, he wrote me this most charitable and loving letter:

> I send your Reverence two bundles. I am leaving for Matape, and go in great haste, because of my eagerness to give your Reverence a thousand most cordial embraces and to be among my most beloved children, whom I greet and embrace with all my heart and with all my love. And I consider well spent these labors which I have performed in their aid. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*[140] The Señor governor and captain, Don Pedro de Almazan, and Father Rector Manuel Gonzales especially commend themselves to your Reverence. Your Reverence will par-

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[139] On the map in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 231, this is given as Huepaca, on the Sonora River, south of Arizpe and north of Ures. According to Manje, Father Saeta was at San Juan Bautista on January 2, where he took part in the *fiesta* of N.S. del Pilar, and whence he set out to "found" the mission of Concepción. The foregoing letter shows that Manje could not have been correct on this point. It indicates that Saeta must have gone south from San Juan Bautista, instead of directly to his mission. (Manje, *op. cit.*, 56.) Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 256), although following the *Favores*, gives a wrong impression as to the date of the alms-gathering journey.

[140] "Blessed be the name of the Lord" (*Job*, i, 21).

den this very miserable note, which I am writing with a scrawl. Goodbye, my most loving father. *Humillimus ex corde.*

XAVERIUS SAETA.[141]

The venerable father had already passed through Matape some weeks before, and he now returned to learn what was to be given him, and at what time, etc. He received very generous and considerable alms from Father Rector Marcos de Loyola, most perfect and zealous lover and great benefactor of new conversions.

CHAPTER V. THE VENERABLE FATHER RETURNS TO HIS MISSION AND IN ANOTHER LETTER DECLARES THE VERY GOOD CONDUCT OF HIS CHILDREN

JANUARY, 1695. At the end of January, 1695, the venerable father returned to his mission of La Consepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca. He was very well content, and the children rejoiced greatly to see that the few servants who had set out with his Reverence now returned very well clothed and were telling many new things about the missions which they had never seen before, and saying that wherever they had gone they had been shown great kindness, even more than if they had gone among their own relatives. The contentment of the venerable father is shown by the following letter of March 4, 1695, in which he says:

MARCH. My children place themselves at the feet of your Reverence, to whom I can give nothing but good news of them. The justices came running along the road to receive me, with joy and happiness equal to that which I feel at seeing and embracing them as my longed-for and most beloved children. They continue to attend mass every morning and catechism twice a day, large as well as small. They work with all love, and have become aids to the three other rancherias of the vicinity, which are those of Unuicat, Bopota,[148] and Actum, whose governors have promised me to come down with their people to live with me in this pueblo, as I have urged them to do. If they do so, it will surely be greatly to the glory of God, and one of the largest pueblos in this province can be formed. It will not fail through lack of my endeavours, etc. I have planted a very pretty garden plot, in which the little trees are set out and the vegetable seeds sown for the refreshment of the sailors from California, etc.

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[141] "Truly your most humble servant, Xavier Saeta." An ordinary termination of a Latin letter.

He adds that a start has already been made on a good ranch, with corrals, and plentiful grass and water, etc.

CHAPTER VI. TWO OTHER LETTERS IN WHICH THE VENERABLE FATHER DECLARES HIS GOOD AND HOLY DESIRE TO PROCEED TO THE CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA[149]

How much the venerable father desired and solicited even the new transmarine conversions of California may be judged from his following two letters, one of the fifteenth and the other of the twenty-first of March of [16]95. In one he writes me thus:

FIFTH LETTER. Yesterday, the fourteenth inst., I received your Reverence's very welcome favor of the second of this month, through the Indian Santiago, who brought me the sixty head of sheep and goats for the provisioning of this new mission. These, together with the thirty-five [fifty-five] preceding, make one hundred and fifteen. The fifteen will be for our dear California, as your Reverence suggests. May God repay your Reverence for the charity, while on my part I give you due thanks with all my heart.

SIXTH LETTER. In the other letter, of March 21, he writes thus:

With inexpressible pleasure to me and to my children, the herdsmen arrived yesterday, Passion Sunday, the twentieth instant, with the cattle which your Reverence gives for this mission, to the number of one hundred head. As your Reverence suggests to me, the other five spotted cows, with your Reverence's brand, are assigned, as is your wish, to our most beloved holy heroine, Rosalia de las Californias, to whom I am continually praying *Sis portus et aura suis*,[144] in order that some day we may go to set up with our own hands her image and in time her own statue on that innocent and happy little hill, dedicated to her, etc.

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[148] Not the same as Santa Maria Bugota, noted elsewhere.

[149] This item seems to be omitted from all the other authorities.

CHAPTER VII. LETTER IN WHICH THE VENERABLE FATHER REFUSES TO LEAVE LA CONSEPCION, IN ORDER TO STAY AND OBTAIN THE CROWN OF MARTYRDOM IN HOLY WEEK

Now follows the seventh letter of the venerable father in which he manifests his decision, although sent for, not to leave his mission, because of his desire to stay to receive the crown of martyrdom in the holy season in which the Redeemer of the world and King of Martyrs obtained it.

SEVENTH LETTER, 1695. Well, on the ninth of March, the venerable father says to me:

I received your Reverence's very dear letter of the twenty-fourth ult., through the muleteers who brought me my trunks and who arrived on the fourth of this month. I appreciate very much your Reverence's noble attention, shown by inviting me to enjoy myself, but I must say, my father, that I will not be able to enjoy the favors of your Reverence, for really I am already very much engrossed, both in spiritual and temporal matters; for, foreseeing that these difficulties must arise, in setting out again I tried to dispose once for all of all the affairs that I could, because then I was not needed, while now I believe that I am very much needed here. In fact, I have excused myself also from going to other places where they had invited me for Holy

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[144] "May she be a port of safety and a breeze to her clients" (See Ovid, *Vos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae*, "You will be harbor and home to our exile").

Week, and I shall hardly be able to go to San Pedro del Tubutama to perform the duties of the church. But occasions will not be lacking, etc. Francisco is going, etc.

Thus far the venerable father Francisco Xavier Saeta.

CHAPTER VIII. LAST LETTER OF MOST TENDER FAREWELL FROM THE VENERABLE FATHER

I add the eighth and last letter, which the venerable father wrote me on April 1, a few hours before his glorious death, and which, without his knowing or suspecting it, is a most tender farewell. I received it twenty-seven hours after his holy martyrdom occurred, the news of his death itself having come two hours before. The letter is as follows:

> The great favor of your Reverence reaches me, with the rolls of bread, biscuit, etc., for which I return to your Reverence due and cordial thanks. In regard to the question of our seeing each other one of these days, your Reverence may notify me by an Indian whenever you wish me to go to the post of Santa Maria; for, although I am badly needed here if I leave for a moment, because I am so very busy, nevertheless, I will steal that short bit of time and, like fleet Saeta, will fly and place myself at the feet of your Reverence, to receive your commands and discuss many things. I shall be glad if the articles of clothing referred to can be brought at the time of meeting from some of these mining towns for my children, for they are limited to sackcloth, blankets, tunics, and *pisiete*. I will promptly pay what they are worth, either in wheat or in silver, at the latest at wheat harvest, for here work proceeds with vigor—*fervet opus*[140]—and I realize that these attractions are very helpful for the spiritualities as well as for the temporalities. I cannot spend much time on this letter, as the bearer wishes to return. I always remain subject to the orders of your Reverence. *Vale, pater optime, et in tuis sacrificiis, tui indignissimi famuli ne oblivis-*

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[140] "The work glows," i.e. proceeds with vigor (Virgil, *Æneid*, vol. i, line 436. *Fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella*).

caris precor.[146] Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca, April 1, 1695. Your Reverence's humblest servant in Christ.

XAVIER SAETA.

P.S. I. Through lack of vinegar I have not yet tried my very pretty garden. I appreciate very much the kindness your Reverence does me in writing in my behalf to the superiors, and although I merit nothing except all kinds of confusion (for what I do is nothing in comparison with what I owe to the divine Majesty and to His most beloved souls), nevertheless I do not fail to be grateful for the kindness. *Vale iterum humanissime Pater et felix vive.*[147]

P.S. II. The bearer of your Reverence's letter has grieved me unspeakably by the news he brought me, to the effect that the Hocomes attacked San Pedro del Tubutama the other day and killed poor Martin and the boy Fernando, who were returning from bringing me the cattle.[148] In God's name your Reverence will tell me about what happened, as well as about Father Daniel.[149]

Thus far the venerable father in his last letter, inside; but after it was sealed he wrote me the following on the outside:

I shall be very much pleased if your Reverence receives the bundle of relics and other little things which I sent to you by Father Daniel. I received two sacks of maize by hand of the governor of Bosna. The maize could not be brought from Santa Maria on account of the enemies, for the news of the deaths of Martin and the boy is confirmed. Let your Reverence not lose sight of me.

Thus far the venerable father. I received this last long and most tender letter at eleven o'clock on Easter day, having received two hours before, at about nine o'clock in the morning, the sad news of his holy death.

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[146] "Farewell, most excellent Father. In your holy sacrifices do not, I pray, be unmindful of your most unworthy servant" (i.e., in your Masses).

[147] "Again, farewell, most kindly Father, and be happy."

[148] For accounts of the uprising at Tubutama, see "Index" and *Apostólicos Afanes*, 256-257; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro II, 30-32.

[149] Father Daniel Januske.

APRIL 2, 1695. It occurred at sunrise on the morning of Holy Saturday, or Saturday of the Gloria, April 2, 1695, as I will now tell in chapter nine. The news of it came in twenty-seven hours, a distance of forty-six leagues.

CHAPTER IX. CONCERNING THREE OTHER MURDERS COMMITTED IN SAN PEDRO DEL TUBUTAMA

The disturbances and murders which the venerable father mentions in his last letter, and which were attributed to the Jocomes, were not committed by them, but by the Tubutamas themselves, and later, by some others, disgusted, very much stirred up, and irritated at certain bad treatment and new and old severities, and even at some murders in the west and in the north. Those malcontents went to take vengeance on La Consepcion, destroying almost all the mission. It is evident that the three murders which took place in El Tubutama on March 29, four days before the death of the venerable father—namely, those of three Opata Indians, Antonio, the herdsman of El Tubutama, Martin and the boy Fernando, who were returning from La Consepcion, were committed by the Tubutamas because of the harsh and choleric treatment with which, many times, the said Opata Indian Antonio abused and beat the Pima Indians of El Tubutama. For, on the same day, March 29, Holy Tuesday, he knocked down on the ground and wounded with spur thrusts the overseer of the farm, who cried out to his relatives, "This Opata is killing me;" whereupon the rest of the Pimas shot two arrows at him. Nevertheless, he mounted a horse and fled to the pueblo. They followed and killed him, plundered the other Opata Indians named, burned the house and little church of the venerable father, and killed many cattle, etc., as the father had set out a few hours before for San Ygnacio and Cucurpe with the news of all this.

And it seems that some of these disturbers went to the neighboring ranchería of San Antonio del Vquitoa, eight leagues to the southwest, and the malcontents there, together with others, about forty in all, planned to do the same thing [in Pitquin], which is distant about twelve leagues, the common enemy and others, their following, coöperating to the complete obstruction of our holy faith. On the first day of April these forty-odd sinners came down to San Diego del Pitquin, which is three leagues from La Consepcion, and arranged to commit very early on the following morning the sacrilegious iniquities which in fact they so barbarously did commit against the person of the venerable father, his property, and his four servants, Opatas and strangers.

CHAPTER X. HAPPY AND GLORIOUS DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA AND OF HIS FOUR SERVANTS, AND THE PLUNDERING OF HIS HOUSE

At sunrise on Saturday of the Gloria, April 2, 1695, these forty-odd malefactors from San Antonio del Vquitoa entered the house of the venerable father, apparently in peace, but with their bows and arrows. They talked to the venerable father and he with them, and bade them good-bye in a friendly way. They went out, the venerable father accompanying them to the door of the spacious hall, where he at once discovered the evil purpose of the sacrilegists, and although the venerable father called the captain of La Consepcion, through fear of the armed people he failed to approach. Then the venerable father knelt down in the very door of his hall (which was the one that still served as a little church) to receive, as he did receive, the two arrow shots, and arising with them he went in to embrace a very pretty crucifix which he had brought with him from Europe, and, seating himself on a box, on account of weakness and pain, and afterwards on the bed, bleeding, he gave his happy spirit to the sovereign Creator.

These cruel barbarians also killed the four servants of the venerable father. One was named Francisco Xavier and was a native of Vris. He served as interpreter and was married to a Pima woman of this Pimeria named Luisa, a native of the great rancheria of Mototicachi, which was so unreasonably destroyed in the year 1688. More than twenty captives were carried off from it to the mining town which they call Los Frayles, and more than fifty natives were beaten, merely because of the malicious suspicion that they were stealing stock and committing the hostilities in this province, although it is thoroughly patent now that they have been committed by the Hocomes, Xanos, Sumas, and Apaches combined, and not by these much persecuted poor Pimas of this extensive Pimeria hereabout.

Therefore, his Excellency ordered that these captives should be restored to their liberty and to their nation, whereupon the said Lucia came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where she married the above mentioned Francisco Xavier. The second of the servants was Josep[h], a very good herdsman, a native of Chinapa, who had married in Cocospera. The third was a plainsman,[180] a native of Cumpas, named Francisco. The fourth was another boy, a native of Vres, named Fernando, who had aided in taking the cattle to La Consepcion. The barbarians plundered the house of the venerable father, killed and stampeded the cattle, sheep and goats, and the horseherd, and went away leaving the people of La Consepcion grief stricken. Four or five days afterward the governor of El Bosna, whom I had sent to find out in detail about all that had happened, arrived at La Consepcion. As he found that the bodies of the dead were decomposing, he burned them, not being able to give them any other burial. Near the body of the venerable father he found the holy crucifix, which he was bringing to me when he met the soldiers from the presidio, who took it away from him.

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[180] *Sabanero.*

CHAPTER XI. EXPEDITION OF THE GARRISON OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA TO PUNISH THE DELINQUENTS AND TO REMOVE THE BODY OF THE VENERABLE FATHER

Upon receiving the news, which I at once despatched to the superiors and to the royal justice, the Señor governor of arms, Don Domingo Jeronsa Petriz de Cruzat, responded and came at once with the soldiers of his presidio and with many friendly Indians, and accompanied by Father Agustin de Campos and Father Fernando Bayerca, for the purpose of redressing the injuries and to remove the body of the venerable father to La Consepcion. But from everywhere around there the people fled through fear of the soldiers, whom they had never seen before. Having killed a boy, beaten an Indian woman, and taken captive three little children whom they encountered, they gathered up the bones and ashes of the venerable father, and various papers, books, and other trifles. Returning, the Señor governor observed the day of the Holy Cross in May in this new church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, confessing and partaking of the holy Sacrament in the morning, and in the afternoon we all proceeded to the nearby pueblo of Cucurpe. We bore the bones and ashes of the venerable father; and the Señor governor, to the great satisfaction of all, deigned to lead by the bridle the mule which bore the little box containing the bones of the venerable father. The following day the burial occurred, the father rector of this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Father Marcos Antonio Kappus, singing mass.

CHAPTER XII. SECOND AND NEW EXPEDITION OF THE GARRISON AND NEW AND GREATER DISTURBANCE THAN BEFORE

As all the people of El Tubutama and its vicinity, those of La Consepcion, and especially the delinquents of San Antonio del Uquitoa, etc., had fled afar through fear of the garrison, the Señor governor of arms was of the opinion that he should wait a little, and that, affecting carelessness, only the chief criminals should be punished, the good Pimas who were not guilty of or accomplices in the crime coöperating. But others urged that return should be made to inflict severe punishment at once. The captain of the presidio returned with more supplies. We summoned the people, with the delinquents of El Tubutama, to make peace. The innocent ones and the justices went inland to seek out and summon the malefactors, and all came with crosses and without arms, but all were killed, both good and bad, to the number of more than fifty, among them being the governor of El Bosna and the governor of

El Tupo, who with great friendliness and loyalty had labored so hard and traveled so far in hunting for the criminals, and who had aided in their punishment.

At so many murders of so many innocents, for there were only five or six of the delinquents there, the relatives of the dead were aroused and stirred up to such a degree that after the garrison had retired or gone away, they burned the houses or chapels of San Ignacio, San Joseph de los Hymires, Santa Maria Magdalena, and La Consepcion (which at the time of the murder of the venerable father they had not burned), profaning the holy ornaments and destroying all the supplies, cattle, and horses, etc. But, happily, Father Agustin de Campos with the six soldiers who had remained with him as guard, had left, fleeing to Cucurpe and Opodepe. We were all in great straits, but I sent such quieting messages as I could to all parts, and by Divine grace the trouble went no further.

CHAPTER XIII. THIRD EXPEDITION WITH THREE GARRISONS OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MEN AND WITH MANY INDIAN FRIENDS FROM EVERYWHERE, EVEN FROM HYAQUI

JULY AND AUGUST, 1695. Afterward, in July and August, there went inland three camps or garrisons, comprising one hundred and fifty men, with two hundred loads of supplies, and with many Indian friends from all parts, even from the Pimeria of the north itself, for besides the garrison of this Presidio of Sonora, that of the Presidio of Xanos entered under General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente; likewise, the garrison of the Presidio of El Gallo, under General Don Domingo Theran. These two garrisons passed through the lands of the Hocomes and the hostile Xanos, in order to reach Pimeria, and in those lands, in the Serro de Chiguicagui,[181] they found almost all the spoils of the many robberies which, during all these years had been committed in this province of Sonora and on its frontiers, including many arquebuses, swords, daggers, spurs, saddle-bags, saddles, boots, etc., whose theft many had so falsely imputed to the Pimas Sobaipuris.

There were also found the pieces, very recently broken, of the bugle which they took away from the bugler of General Quiros. Among these Hocomes were found the spoils of the soldier Juan de Ochoa, whom, a few weeks before, they had captured alive, killing his three companions, on the road between Guachinera and Guasavas. Many of these spoils, guns, saddles, etc., were redeemed, and truces were made with the enemy until they should come to the Pimeria, whither General Don Domingo Theran hurried, entering Tubutama at night, without the other two garrisons knowing it, and killing fifteen or sixteen Pimas. Hereupon the people fled in all directions, just as they were about to deliver up the criminals to their deserved punishment.

The garrisons, together with the friendly Indians, went up from El Tubutama to El Saric, and then descended to La Consepcion, a march of more than forty leagues, consuming fruitlessly many weeks' time, because the people were still far away, until with great prudence, experience, and very Christian zeal, General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, realizing that there was no rebellion among these Pimas, since in all this time they did not resist, oppose, or make war on any one, anywhere, but merely fled through fear of the soldiers, and remained in retreat, endeavored to make peace, with the stipulation and condition that the Pimas and their chief captains and governors should obligate themselves to deliver up the principal malefactors in the murder of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, and the Pimas joyfully accepted the proposal.

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[181] The Chiricahua (Chiguicagui) Mountains are in southeastern Arizona, about half way between the Rio Gila and the international boundary line. Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, 282) says that the Chiricahua Apaches were the most warlike of the Arizona Indians. Chiricahua is a small town on the El Paso and Southwestern Railway about twenty miles northeast of Douglas.

BOOK IV. GENERAL PEACE-AGREEMENTS OF THIS PIMERIA, AND LETTERS OF VARIOUS PROMINENT PERSONS WHO PROPHESY AND PROMISE GREAT FRUITS FROM THE INNOCENT AND HAPPY DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

CHAPTER I. THE VERY CATHOLIC PEACE-AGREEMENTS OF THIS PIMERIA

General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, seeing that all the Pimas, those who had retreated as well as those who had not, those of the west and those of the north, were falling in so amicably with his very generous and very Catholic proposals relative to the peace-agreements, his Grace summoned me to see that the truces were properly drawn up, so that we fathers should be safe, content, and satisfied. I went at once to El Tupo and La Consepcion, whither many natives of six distinct rancherías, or pueblos, presently arrived, on the twenty-fifth of August. Soon we came to the plains of La Cienega del Tupo; and on August 30, day of the most glorious Saint of the Indies, Rosa de Santa Maria, seven other rancherías or pueblos and many governors went down thither.

And after sundry very pacific and very Catholic talks on the part of the Company, and especially on the part of the generals, some very friendly, very excellent, and very Christian peace-agreements were drawn up in the name of God and the King, the Pimas very willingly obligating themselves promptly to surrender the principal delinquents to their merited punishment. And it was a source of most singular comfort, and edification, and tenderness to see those generals embracing those poor Pima captains and governors with such loving, Christian, Catholic embraces and friendly caresses. Thanks to the Sovereign Lord, some peace-agreements were drawn up and so well established and fixed that, by Divine mercy, they remained very permanent, to the great advantage of the province and to the great injury of our enemies, the Hocomes; and in due time these captains and governors fulfilled their promise, surrendering to the royal justice the principal delinquents. They were catechised, baptized, and prepared for death; but the very great and paternal charity of the father visitor, Oracio Polise, seeing them so humble and so repentant, obtained their pardon.

CHAPTER II. SUNDRY LETTERS OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS, WHO PROGNOSTICATE AND PROMISE VERY COPIOUS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL FRUITS IN THE MOST CONSTANT CONVERSION OF MANY SOULS; AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE LETTERS OF THE SUPERIORS

Father Rector Marcos Anttonio Kapus. The father rector of this mission or rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Marcos Anttonio Kapus, without delay, early in April, while we were still somewhat in doubt in regard to the death of the venerable father (inasmuch as since the news of the death, which was brought by an Indian, many letters had come from the venerable father), wrote me the following words:

> I constantly feel, *sensim sine sensu*, a greater and greater veneration for this our glorious protomartyr, and I hope that our Lord in his Divine Majesty will look upon this innocent victim,

> for the furtherance of the conversion of very many souls. (And immediately afterward his Reverence adds:) I have the greatest hopes that all these evils are destined to bring forth much fruit and exceeding great good. May his Divine Majesty grant it and may she [Nuestra Señora de los Dolores] be our protector and our support.

FATHER VISITOR JUAN MUÑOS DE BURGOS. The father visitor, Juan Muños de Burgos, from the mining town of San Juan, through which his Reverence was passing on his return from the visitation, wrote me the following:

> May our Lord requite your Reverence for the holy zeal with which you are endeavoring to stay the fury of such ungrateful people. May your Reverence, as father of those poor souls, aid them with your counsels and holy sacrifices, for I hope in the Lord that in the future the blood of that angel will be the means whereby the Pimeria will bring forth much fruit for the greater glory of God our Lord. May He guard your Reverence for me in much comfort.

In another letter, of April 15, his Reverence writes to me thus: "Be of good cheer, your Reverence, for I hope in the Lord that all this must redound to the greater glory of God, as we have seen in other new conquests where our brethren have shed their blood." In another, from his district of Guepaca, his Reverence writes to me the following:

> Your Reverence's health has given me great concern, since they told me that they had seen your Reverence looking very ill, and I am rather inclined to think that in the present case your Reverence's heart and holy zeal are still suffering over the revolt of that new Christendom. God well knows that I would like to see your Reverence with lively hopes in our Lord that soon we shall see those poor misguided beings brought again into the bosom of our holy mother Church. In what new conversions have we not seen the shedding of blood of apostolic noblemen, whose irrigation has fertilized the harvest of many souls? In God's name, your Reverence, be of good courage in the Lord,

> and comfort your heart; and with the same zeal continue in the conversion of those poor ingrates.

FATHER PROVINCIAL, DIEGO DE ALMONAZIR. The father provincial, Diego de Almonasir, having heard of this blessed death of the venerable father, Francisco Xavier Saeta, writes to and consoles the rest of the fathers, saying that we should have a thousand desires to obtain the same fortune as our companion; but that the Lord, content with Father Saeta, wished the others for the instruction of those people, and that their martyrdom should be without blood, but more prolonged in the continual risk of life and the difficult task of our ministry in the face of their brutish obstinacy. Says the father provincial to the father visitor, in regard to the fathers of Pimeria: "For my part, commend me to and signify to all my grateful envy of their blessed labors and happy lot, quite in keeping with the apostolic life and travail." Thus far the father provincial.

CHAPTER III. OTHER LETTERS FROM OTHER PROMINENT FATHERS WHO PROMISE AND ASSURE THE SAME BLESSED AND COPIOUS FRUIT

MAY 11, 1695. FATHER RECTOR MANUEL GONZALES. The father rector of the College of Oposura, Manuel Gonzales, on May 11 wrote thus:

> With that of your Reverence, I received the note of the deceased father, Francisco Xavier Saeta – may he be with God in Glory – a very edifying note written a few days before his death. I have thought and I still think of your Reverence in so grievous and unhappy a case as that of our children, the Pimas. I so desire to comfort them that I would fain declare it with tears of my heart's blood instead of ink; but I am consoled by my knowledge of your Reverence, who knows how deep and hidden are the just and holy judgments of God our Lord, whom we ought to adore and venerate with all our hearts and souls. Good courage, my best beloved father, for God our Lord is able to bring great

good out of evil. How much your Reverence has worked for the good of those poor creatures, how well you were conducting so holy a work, and how far you had advanced it, all the world knows. (And afterwards his Reverence continues:) I beg of your Reverence, for the love of God our Lord and of His most holy Mother, our Lady of Sorrows, that your Reverence, in such sorrow, cast yourself at the feet of this our Lady, and offer yourself wholly to her, conforming yourself in everything to the Divine will, trusting much in the Divine goodness that when it shall please His Divine Majesty all will be rectified to His great honor and glory and to the advantage of all those poor sons of our heart. May God have pity upon them and guard your Reverence for me.

JUNE 9, 1695. FATHER RECTOR ANTTONIO LEAL. Thus far the father rector, Manuel Gonzales. On the ninth of June the father rector, Anttonio Leal, wrote me from his holy College of Guadiana the following letter.

I took great comfort from the pleasing reports with which the father visitor favored me, of the progress and increase of Christianity in the Pimeria, occasioned by the entry of your Reverence one hundred and fifty leagues to the north, and of the great number of heathen who anxiously sought the waters of holy baptism. But how could such case be free from envy; and how could the Devil allow so many souls, which he held as his own, to escape him, without doing his utmost to block their pathway?

I have greatly regretted, and all greatly regret, that that revolt should have occurred among those poor creatures, although I hope in our Lord that it has not been in all parts. However, my father, though the faith of our God has had such a setback, not for that has it been destroyed; and although the Apostles, disciples of Christ, and their successors in all ages, have died, *si caro infirma spiritus promptus*,[180] those who have remained have again promptly kindled the fires of the Holy Spirit,

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[180] "If the flesh be weak, the spirit is willing" (i.e., "If weak in body, yet willing in spirit" (*Matthew*, xxvi, 41, or *Mark*, xiv, 38. *Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma*).

> reviving it from the deadest ashes. Your Reverence, whom it behooves not to give up – for the blood of our brother is to be the watering by which those new plants are to wax greater, and in heaven he is to be the patron of those poor souls – your Reverence has been and must be their apostle; and great will be the compassion which for some is suffered by others. Then, my father, the blood of Christ! Be not cast down, your Reverence, by what has happened, for it is the cause of God, and God will return for its sake and assist your Reverence, whom I pray Him to guard for me many years. Since, your Reverence, I have ever been your companion in desires whose fulfillment our Lord hath not granted me, may he make me a participant in your labors.

Thus far the father rector, Anttonio Leal, with his very paternal encouragement. The father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos de Loyola, a missionary very experienced as well in new as in old missions, writes me almost the same. He says that our Lord must desire this Pimeria for some great thing, since He permits it to be attacked and impeded with much opposition. And in another letter, of February 26, 1695, even preceding these disturbances, with more discerning prophecy, he writes as follows:

> This means that your Reverence will not lack laborers to win the crown of eternity. Happy your Reverence, who has an opportunity to gain so much in heaven; I even envy your Reverence, for, as things are going you should take comfort in everything, for it is of God's law, and He is leading. There is no reason to lose heart on that account, but rather to hope in God, for He will bring from everything great fruit and good.

Thus far the father rector of Matape, Marcos de Loyola; and much of this nature many fathers have written and said.

CHAPTER IV. OTHER LETTERS FROM THREE LIEUTENANTS OF THIS PIMERIA IN REGARD TO THE BLESSED DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

Captain Pasqual de Picondo, who a few months before had been lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuche and of this Pimeria, writes me the following:

> I regard the death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta as one of the greatest glories that could be desired, for many have wished to die for our Lord Jesus Christ in like ministry and have not obtained their wish. Happy once and a thousand times Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, who obtained from our Lord the boon that his stole should be bathed in blood. And I regard all this Pimeria as flourishing, and predict that it will yield ripened fruit for the granary of the Church; and let the reverend fathers of Pimeria rejoice and congratulate themselves likewise, that they have a martyr comrade in heaven who is and will be their advocate with our Lord Jesus Christ, that their holy desires and labors may succeed.

Another and similar letter his successor in the lieutenancy, Captain Josep[h] Romo de Vivar, wrote me from Real de Bacanuche; and another, from the Real de San Juan, the General Don Pedro Garzia de Almazan, who had been a very great admirer of the venerable Father, since the latter four months before his happy death had lodged in his house at the Real de San Juan, when he preached at the feasts of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion. And after other very fine letters in reference to the matter, more recently the present lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Matheo Manje, nephew of the Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, on the nineteenth of September, 1695, wrote me the following:

> I have been pleased to learn of your Reverence's going to Mexico. May the sovereign Lord grant you a pleasant journey and complete success in everything and bring you back safe, ac-

> companied by fervent and apostolic ministers for this Pimeria, vineyard of the Lord; for by the blood of the most zealous Father and martyr, Francisco Xavier Saeta, that harvest of souls is being fertilized, and in time will be the most flourishing, just as happens in the fields where by watering the land is fertilized in order that it may make the harvest of wheat luxuriant. Nor will this innocent blood of the venerable father martyr be like that of Abel, which cried for vengeance, but it will be a fountain of supplications and appeals for the conversion of those heathen tribes, and for their repentance, for they know not what they did – like those others who crucified Jesus the Lamb Himself, and who crucify Him again by opposing and hindering those new conversions. I am consoled, however, that your Reverence, by going to Mexico, will arrange for ministers, etc. I rejoice at the coming of the governors of the Soba nation from the west to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The blood which was shed is beginning to bear me fruit.

This and much more from Captain Juan Matheo Manje, present lieutenant of this Pimeria, who with very Christian zeal and like valor has on various occasions made divers expeditions with me.

CHAPTER V. ANOTHER LETTER CITING THE UNIVERSAL EXAMPLE OF THE OTHER NEW CONVERSIONS, WHICH LIKEWISE BEGAN WITH THE SHEDDING OF THE BLOOD OF THEIR MINISTERS

Father Antonio Menendez, July 2, 1695. Father Antonio Menendes, rector of the mission of San Ygnacio de Mayo, of Hyaqui, on the second of July, 1695, wrote from his holy College of Conicari [100] as follows:

> In Hyaqui I received, with the pain which may be imagined, your Reverence's report of what had happened in the new conversion; this I knew already, and in my solitude I was thinking that your Reverence's heart must be completely broken, since at

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[100] Conicari is on the Mayo River about twenty-five miles northeast of Alamos.

> every avenue the common enemy opposes himself to hinder and embarrass that which is for the glory of God. This is a good sign, my father, for all those new conversions begin with ministers' blood for their fertilization, and, indeed, is a sign of perseverance and good success. Thus was the conversion of Cinaloa begun with Father Tapia; that of Chinipas with the two fathers Julio Pascual and Manuel Martinez, that of Tepeguanes with seven glorious fathers, that of Tarasumares Antiguos with the blood of fathers Cornelio and Jacome Basilio; and now the new conversion of Tarasumares Nuevos with Father Coronda and Father Manuel Zanches. Therefore, be of good spirits my father, for God willed that the first fruits of that conversion should be the suffering of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta.

Thus far the father rector, Antonio Minendes. And, indeed, we see very plainly the above-mentioned fruits in the reduction of so many souls who, in the midst of so many hindrances *cuæ spesificari possent mortes quo ano, quo loco, etc.* . . .[184] already are with such constancy coming from regions so remote to ask for holy baptism.

CHAPTER VI. PROPHECIES BY THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA HIMSELF OF HIS GLORIOUS AND GREATLY DESIRED MARTYRDOM

Many persons, who came with and conversed with the Venerable Father in the passage from Spain to Vera Cruz and in Mexico, have had and still have memories so vivid of the many times when with singular tenderness he used to speak of his great desire to shed his blood and give his life for the Faith by means of a blessed, holy martyrdom, that they have written from Mexico to these missions, making detailed and express mention of those holy prophecies of his. One long letter from a person of this class, which is in my possession, treats very expressly of these holy premonitions of his. It arrived several weeks after his blessed death, but was written in Mexico at almost the same time at which here in La Consepcion the venerable father obtained his desired crown of martyrdom, of which I myself have heard him speak with singular tenderness, adding very expressly many times those words of St. John the Baptist, *Posuit me* [*sic*] *ut sagitam electam,*[185] referring to his surname, Saeta, which in Latin is *sagita*, and in Castilian *flecha*[186] In the letter which the venerable father wrote me from Guepaca on the nineteenth of January, 1695, he closed with the words: "May your Reverence pardon the miserable scrawl which I am writing with this arrow stroke." When the venerable father, a few months ago, went out to collect alms for his mission, in taking leave of various persons on going to the interior he said to them, as if he were going to die, "Adieu till we meet in heaven." And thus ever our Lord has given increase to his holy Church with His own most holy blood and with the blood of His well beloved and dearest ministers. *Plantaverunt Ecclesiam tuam sanguine suo, et sanguis Martirum semen christianorum.*[187] With this in mind a father visitor well said that the death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta was a pearl for the Company.

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[184] "Whose deaths could be specified as to year, place," etc.

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[185] *Isaias*, xlix, 2. *Posuit me sicut sagittam electam.* "He hath made me a chosen arrow."

[186] I.e., arrow.

[187] "They planted the Church with their blood; and the blood of Martyrs is the seed of Christians" (Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus Gentes*, cap. L. *Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum*). The same thought is expressed in several passages of Tertullian.

BOOK V. MY JOURNEY TO MEXICO AND MY RETURN TO THE MISSIONS; VISITATION OF THE FATHER VISITOR, ORACIO POLICE; VARIOUS ENTRIES TO THE NORTH, THE WEST, AND THE NORTHWEST; DISCOVERY AND REDUCTION OF NEW NATIONS

CHAPTER I. MY JOURNEY TO MEXICO TO OBTAIN MISSIONARY FATHERS FOR THIS PIMERIA[180]

Since the year before, and earlier, when from these coasts of this Pimeria we caught sight of California nearby, I had asked and obtained permission from the father provincial, Diego de Almonacir, to go to Mexico to discuss with his Reverence and with his Excellency the conversion of California and the extensive new lands of this mainland; but my going had been prevented by the royal justice and some fathers, the lieutenants, and citizens of this province, who reported to Mexico that I should be needed here, and that I was accomplishing more than a well governed presidio, etc. This year, 1695, however, in view of the very Christian truces which had been drawn up on the thirtieth of August in this Pimeria, and since the harvest of souls was so plenteous, so widespread, and so ripe, I determined, although some opposed me, to avail myself of the license, almost an order, which I had from the father provincial, and to go to Mexico for the good of so many souls in sore need; and so, setting out from these missions of Sonora on the sixteenth of November, 1695,[159] in seven weeks and after a journey of five hundred leagues, I arrived at Mexico on January 8, 1696.

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[180] For an account of this trip to Mexico, see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 262-263; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 88-89; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 263; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. iv (45). The account given by Alegre is in some respects better than that given here by Kino, especially with respect to the details of Kino's efforts while in Mexico to secure justice for the Pimas. He says nothing, however, of Kino's efforts in behalf of California during this journey. In fact, none of the other authorities except the *Afanes* mention them.

It was God's will that I should be able to say mass every day of this trip; and the three masses of the Feast of the Nativity I said in the new church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto of Guadalaxara. The same day on which I arrived at Mexico Father Juan Maria Salvatierra[160] arrived by another route, while that morning the new government had been installed, Father Juan de Palacios having entered as provincial. I took with me to Mexico the son of the captain general of this Pimeria, and we received the utmost kindness and favors from the new father provincial and his predecessor, from his Excellency the Conde de Galves, and even from her Ladyship, the viceroy's wife, who were delighted at seeing new people who came from parts and lands so remote.

In reference to California, on account of various mishaps, neither I nor Father Juan Maria Salvatierra accomplished our purpose at that time, although the year following Father Juan Maria did accomplish it at the coming of the new viceroy, Conde de Valladares, etc. In regard to fathers for this Pimeria, I obtained five from the new father provincial, Juan de Palacios, though afterward the reports, false or ignorant, and the contrary opinions of those less interested, delayed everything, or almost everything, as usual.

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[159] The details given here with respect to the date of leaving for Mexico, and the taking of the chief's son with him, are lacking in the other authorities except the *Afanes*.

[160] Alegre says that Salvatierra, Zappa, and Kino all three arrived on the same day (*op. cit.*, p. 89). The *Afanes* gives January 6 as the day of Kino's arrival in Mexico.

CHAPTER II. MY DEPARTURE FROM MEXICO AND ARRIVAL AT THESE MISSIONS OF THE PIMERIA

FEBRUARY 8, 1696. On the eighth of February,[161] 1696, I set out from Mexico with Father Anttonio de Benabides,[162] who came to prepare himself in Guadiana[163] for this Pimeria. I came to observe Holy Week and Easter at Conicari, whence I forwarded the despatch of the government and many other letters which I was carrying to the new father visitor, Oracio Polise, and to other fathers. Afterward I passed on to Santa Maria de Bazaraca[164] to see the father visitor; and I found in his Reverence all affection and a very great and fatherly love for these new conversions. I had to return in the company of Captain Christobal de Leon, his son, and his men, for the greater security of my person; but his Divine Majesty saved me from the great misfortune into which his Grace fell, for the hostile Jocomes killed him[165] and all his people on the road not very far from Oputo,[166] while I went to say goodbye to the father rector, Francisco Carranco, and Father Pedro del Marmol.[167] In the middle of May I arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. While I was gone to Mexico Father Agustin de Campos had administered the mission;[168] and his Reverence upon my return went to his mission of San Ygnacio.

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[161] This detail is lacking from the other accounts except the *Afanes*.

[162] Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 89) says that Kino brought with him Father Gaspar Barrillas. If this be true, it is strange that Kino does not mention the fact. Could Kino mean Barrillas instead of Benavides? According to Manje, upon the arrival of Barrillas, he was conducted to Tubutama and Caborca, in the latter of which places he reestablished the destroyed mission (*op. cit.*, 45). Ortega states that Kino conducted Barrillas to Caborca in February, 1697 (cited in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 263). Kino shows that it was in 1698, after the expedition with Bernal (*post*, page 175). It may be, therefore, that Barrillas did not return with Kino, who reached Dolores in May, 1696. Ortega implies that none of the five missionaries were sent (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 264).

[163] Guadiana is the same as Durango, where there was at this time a Jesuit college. It was long the capital of Nueva Vizcaya, and is now the seat of government of the state of Durango.

[164] Santa Maria Basaraca (now Bacerac) is situated on the north flowing stretch of the upper Yaqui River, nearly straight east of Arizpe, near the Chihuahua boundary, and high in the mountains. See "Map" and "Index."

In June, as the Pima children of the interior had heard of my return from Mexico, their principal governors and captains came to see me in such numbers and from parts so remote, from the north, from the west, etc., that Captain Don Antonio de Estrada Bocanegra,[169] who had been an eye-witness, wrote a long account of them, noting the fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, and one hundred or more leagues' journey which many of them had come, all for the purpose of asking and obtaining holy baptism and fathers for their rancherías and for their many people. All received the very paternal and very Catholic messages of the father provincials and of their Excellencies, with various gifts which meanwhile they had sent them; and I sent them away comforted with fair hopes that by the divine

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[165] For the details of this massacre see Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro II, 45-48 and page 162, *footnote*. The references cited give the geography of the event. Alegre gives the Apaches as the aggressors.

[166] Oputo is on the upper Yaqui River, just north of latitude 30°, and southeast of Arizpe.

[167] These details are omitted from the other accounts.

[168] That is, he reestablished his mission, which had been destroyed in 1695. (See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro II, 46, on this point). After the Pima revolt had been quieted in 1695, Father Campos served as chaplain in a campaign against the Jocomes and Janos. During this campaign, General Terán de los Ríos lost his life (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro II, 45).

[169] This item is lacking from the other accounts.

Grace they should accomplish the good intent and purpose which they professed of obtaining missionary fathers.

CHAPTER III. NEW AND OLD AND VERY VIOLENT CONTRADICTIONS AND OPPOSITION WHICH HINDERED THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARY FATHERS TO THIS PIMERIA[170]

Nevertheless, so great were the obstacles and the opposition against this Pimeria that they caused even the most friendly father visitor, Oracio Polise, to falter. It was again reported, but very falsely, as has since been seen, that the Pimas Sobaipuris were closely allied with the hostile Jocomes, and with the other enemies of this province of Sonora; and they were charged with stealing droves of horses, etc., and with having many large corrals full of them. It was falsely reported, also, that these Pimas were involved in the tumults and revolts of Taraumara, on the testimony of the Taraumares themselves, but the Taraumares could not have been speaking of the Pimas of this Pimeria, who are more than one hundred and fifty leagues distant from the Taraumares, but only of the Pimas near them, who are those of Tapipa and near Yecora.[171] It had been said and reported, but very falsely, that the Pimas of the interior and their neighbors were such cannibals that they roasted and ate people, and that for this reason one could not go to them; but already we have entered and have found them very friendly and entirely free from such barbarities.

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[170] Accounts of the Indian troubles of the later months of 1695 and of the year 1696 are given in Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 45-48 and Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 90-93, each account supplementing the other. Either work is much better than Kino's on this point. The following summary is based on Manje and Alegre: In September, 1695, the three companies which had been in the Pimeria, with Father Campos as their chaplain, made a campaign against the Jocomes and Janos, who were pestering Sonora. In this campaign they killed sixty and captured seventy of the enemy, the captives being distributed as slaves among the soldiers. In the course of the expedition most of the soldiers were taken ill, from drinking poisoned water, as it was believed, and General Terán de los Rios died. In January, 1696, Captain Antonio de Solís punished the Conchos, and put to death three leaders at Nacori, south of Oposo, in the upper Yaqui Valley, Father Carranco being present at the execution. In March the Apaches, Jocomes, and Janos, who had attacked Tonibavi, were punished, eighteen being killed. Sometime before May (for Kino was with the party) the same Indians attacked the party of Captain Cristóbal de León, in the Sierra of San Cristóbal, while they were on their way from Cuquiarachi. Father Kino, who had been in De León's band, fortunately had just turned aside to visit Fathers Carranco and Marmol, as related on page 162. To avenge this attack the Compañía Volante went to the Sierra de Batepito, near Corodeguachi, but had little success. Jironza now called on the chiefs of the Janos and the Pimas to make a general campaign. They united at the Sierra Florida, near the Gila, and succeeded in killing thirty-two men and capturing fifty women and children. During the same year of 1696 a general uprising was attempted in Tarahumara, Tecupeto, and Sonora, under the influence of chief Quigue, or Quibue, of the pueblo of Santa María Baseraca. After ten leaders had been hanged at San Juan Bautista and Tecupeto, and chief Quigue had lost his life near Janos, quiet was restored. For the rebel chief's eloquent speech setting forth the grievances against the Spaniards, see Alegre, *op. cit.*

I found it published at the coming of his Illustriousness to Matape that Father Kino was asking in letters that they bring him with soldiers out of the tumultuous Pimeria, when such a thing had never entered my thoughts.[172]

It was said and written to Mexico that I lived guarded by soldiers, but I have never had, nor thanks to the Lord, needed such a guard.

It has been said and written that the Sobaipuris and others farther on had killed Father Kino and all his people who went with him in the entry of 1698; but the fact is that in all parts they received us with the utmost kindness and, thanks be to the Lord, we are still living.

Toward the end of July of the past year it was reported that the Soba nation was in commotion, and that we three[173] fathers were in great danger of our lives. Father Barillas was taken from La Consepcion,[174] and the garrison was summoned and came. But there was not then nor is there now the least of these pretended dangers.

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[171] Yecora is on an upper branch of the Yaqui River in western Chihuahua.

[172] Alegre alludes to these charges in his *Historia*, vol. iii, 100. The events to which he refers took place in 1697.

Another great contradiction and opposition and very false report has been that the Pimeria has few people and does not need many fathers. But it is a very well established fact that it has more than fifteen thousand souls.

CHAPTER IV. VARIOUS ENTRIES TO THE NORTHEAST[175] AND TO THE NORTH BY ORDER OF THE FATHER VISITOR, ORACIO POLISE; AND THE DELIVERY OF THE DISTRICT OF COCOSPERA TO FATHER PEDRO RUIS DE CONTRERAS

Nevertheless, in order that conditions might be investigated and the facts ascertained, the father visitor, Oracio Police, bade me make various entries, in which talks and instruction in Christian doctrine and in life somewhat civilized were given; and the very submissive natives gave me many little ones to baptize.

On the tenth of December I went to San Pablo de Quiburi, a journey of fifty leagues to the north, passing by Santa Maria and by Santa Cruz, of the Rio de San Joseph de Terrenate. I arrived at Quiburi on the fifteenth of December, bearing the paternal greetings which the father visitor sent to this principal and great ranchería; for it has more than four hundred souls assembled together, and a fortification, or earthen enclosure, since it is on the frontier of the hostile Hocomes. As a result of the Christian teaching, the principal captain, called El Coro, gave me his little son to baptize, and he was named Oracio Polise; and the governor called El Bajon,[178a] and others, gave me their little ones to christen. We began a little house of adobe for the father, within the fortification, and immediately afterward I put in a few cattle and a small drove of mares for the beginning of a little ranch.

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[173] That is, Kino, Campos, and Barrillas.

[174] This statement is an implied contradiction of Manje's assertion that Caborca was occupied only at times (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 96).

[175] This chapter is very important as giving the actual details of the preparations which Kino made for the missionaries in the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys. Except for Ortega's summary of it, these circumstances have not hitherto been clear. (Bancroft accepts Ortega at this point). No other authority states the number of trips made to these places by Kino in 1696 and 1697. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 263.

On the thirteenth of January, 1697, I went in to the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac. We took cattle, sheep, goats, and a small drove of mares. The ranch of San Luis del Bacoancos was begun with cattle. Also there were sheep and goats in San Cayetano, which the loyal children of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta had taken thither, having gathered them in Concepcion at the time of the disturbances of 1695. At the same time, some cattle were placed in San Xavier del Bac, where I was received with all love by the many inhabitants of the great ranchería, and by many other principal men, who had gathered from various parts adjacent. The word of God was spoken to them, there were baptisms of little ones, and beginnings of good sowings and harvests of wheat for the father minister whom they asked for and hoped to receive.

On the seventeenth of March, 1697, I again went in to San Pablo de Quiburi.[179] I returned by way of San

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[178a] *El Coro* means "The Chorus"; *El Bajon* means "The Bassoon."

[179] Alegre by error puts in at this point the account of the Pima victory over the Apaches which occurred on March 30, 1698. He not only puts it under the date of 1697, but before the visit of the Pimas to Father Polici, related in the next chapter as occurring in October, 1697, and before the expedition of Bernal to the Gila, which was in part a result of the visit of Polici (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, [illegible]).

Geronimo, San Cayetano, and San Luys, looking in all places after the spiritual welfare of the natives, baptising some infants and sick persons, and consoling all with the very fatherly messages from the father visitor, and even from the Señor alcalde mayor and military commander, notifying them at the same time to be ready to go with the soldiers on the expedition against the enemies of the province,[177] the Hocomes, the Xanos, Sumas, and Apaches. With the same intent and purpose I again went in to San Pablo de Quiburi on the seventeenth of April, and they received me with crosses and arches placed in the road.

At this time I gave over the district of Cocospera[178] and Santa Maria to Father Pedro Ruis de Contreras, with complete vestments or supplies for saying mass, good beginnings of a church and a house, partly furnished, five hundred head of cattle, almost as many sheep and goats, two droves of mares, a drove of horses, oxen, crops, etc.[179]

CHAPTER V. THE PRINCIPAL CAPTAINS AND GOVERNORS OF THIS PIMERIA GO TO SANTA MARIA DE BAZERACA TO SEE THE FATHER VISITOR AND ASK FOR FATHERS, A JOURNEY OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND THEN OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY LEAGUES[180]

So great were the desires of the natives of this Pimeria to obtain missionary fathers that they determined to go to Santa Maria de Baceraca[181] to ask them of the father visitor. Some had come the fifty, sixty, eighty, ninety, one hundred, and more leagues' journey to reach Nuestra Señora de los Dolores;[182] and as there was still a journey of about one hundred leagues to Santa Maria de Baseraca, and as they had never gone so many leagues away from their country, I went with them through Sonora. In the Real de San Juan, in Oposura, and in Guasavas, through which we passed, both the seculars and the fathers received us with all kindness. On the sixth of October, day of Our Lady of the Rosary, we reached Santa Maria de Baceraca.

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[177] This statement illustrates the part which virile missionaries like Kino played in the defense of the frontier.

[178] Notice that Kino's language implies that Cocospera was the principal place and Santa Maria the subordinate. Bancroft states that early in 1697 Father Ruiz arrived and was put in Suamca, with Cocospera as a visita.

[179] For references to events of this period see in volume II, page 157, a letter to Kino by Father General Thirso Gonzalez, dated December 27, 1698, in reply to one from Kino dated June 3, 1697. It is far out of place, and should be read in this connection.

[180] For another account of some of the events of this chapter, see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. III, 101. He supplies a few details not given here.

We were received with a thousand tendernesses and with such joy by the father visitor, Oracio Police, that his Reverence on the following day chanted a solemn mass to the three holy kings, who were the first gentiles who came to adore the Messiah—*Primitiæ Gentium*.[183] And his Reverence, through various inquiries, even secret, which he made and ordered made, was so well satisfied with the great loyalty of these Pimas that he wrote a very fine letter to the Señor military commander requesting that the Pimeria should be favored; that efforts should be made to secure for it the fathers which it needed and deserved, since thereby the province would be quieted and made rid of the hostile Jocomes and Xanos, who would retreat to the east (all of which was afterward fulfilled to the letter); and that some soldiers should come into this Pimeria, at least as far as Quiburi, to see with their own eyes the good state of affairs and the ripeness of the very plentiful harvest of souls.[158] Having asked when the soldiers were coming to Quiburi, I was told the 7th of November. And the same day I entered also from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with Captain Juan Matheo Manje.[159] Our intention was to penetrate forty or fifty leagues further inland, down the Rio de Quiburi, to the last Sobaipuris of the northeast and to the Rio de Jila, or Rio Grande, which is the same, for up to that time we had not penetrated so far inland by that route.

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[181] On the upper Yaqui River. See *ante*, *footnote* 169.

[182] Alegre states that they arrived at Dolores toward the end of September. This may be merely an inference from the foregoing, but it is evident that he had access to documents at this point which I have not seen. He states that chief *Pacheco* had brought his wife to Busanic (Bacanuchi), thence to Dolores, thence to Toape, where she was baptized as Nicolasa, and that the coming in September was a second visit for the purpose (*Historia*, vol. III, 100).

[183] "The first fruits of the Gentiles" (2 *Thess.*, II, 13. *Quod elegerit vos Deus primitias in salutem*: "God hath chosen you first fruits unto Salvation").

CHAPTER VI. GREAT AND PEACEFUL ENTRY OF TWENTY-TWO SOLDIERS TO THE RIO GRANDE AND THE LAST SOBAIPURIS[160]

I arrived at Quiburi with Captain Juan Matheo Manje, my servants, and more than sixty horses and mules, intending to penetrate to the last Sobaipuris. In Quiburi I received a letter from the captain of the soldiers stating that they were on their way, and they arrived on November 9. We found the Pima natives of Quiburi very jovial and very friendly. They were dancing over scalps and the spoils of fifteen enemies,[187] Hocomes and Janos, whom they had killed a few days before. This was so pleasing to us that the Señor Captain Christobal Martin Bernal, the Señor alférez, the sergeant, and many others, entered the circle and danced merrily in company with the natives. More and more the captain was disposed to penetrate farther with me; but many were of the opinion that it was impossible to go further and among the last Sobaipuris without two hundred men. To this I replied that one could penetrate to the last Sobaipuris as safely as one could go to Sonora, for their principal captains, El Humari, his two sons, and others, had come to be catechised and baptized, after Easter, during the previous months;[188] that Captain Humari had been named Francisco Eusebio, and his sons, now well-grown, one Francisco Xavier and the other Oracio Polise; that for a long time they had been inviting me most amicably to go to see them in their rancherías, lands, and valleys, which are about one hundred and twenty leagues[189] from

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[158] Credit for suggesting an expedition by soldiers to the interior Pimas is here given to Father Polici. Manje takes the credit to himself. See *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 5, first paragraph: "y por atajarle ya el mal Concepto, con q nos obscurecian la venida de Evangelicos operarios pa. su Reducción con Consulta supliqué al Genl. me diese entrar una esquadra de soldados en compa. del Pr. Kino y mía, a esta descubrimiento" (p. 49).

[159] Kino and Manje left Dolores on November 2, with ten Indian servants, thirty horses, and presents for the Indians. They went *via* Remedios, Cocóspera (where Father Pedro Ruiz de Contreras was stationed) San Lázaro, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (here they were met by Bernal with the soldiers) and Quiburi where they arrived on the 9th (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 15). Bernal in his diary says that he overtook Kino at Quiburi on the ninth. Kino gives circumstantial evidence to show the same thing, but Manje says that Bernal joined them on the seventh at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (Diary, Nov. 7).

[160] The principal authorities for this entrada, aside from the present work, are Manje's account in diary form (but with subsequent additions)

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in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 15, and the reports written by Bernal. These include a letter to Father Polici declaring the quiet state in which the Sobaipuris were found, dated at N. S. de los Dolores, December 8, 1697, and attested by Kino, Escalante, Acuña, and Barcelona. With this is Bernal's diary of the expedition beginning November 4 at *Frontera de Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi*, and ending at Dolores December 4, 1697. This also is witnessed by Kino and the others named. My copy is from the original MS. in the Archivo General, Mexico, *Misiones*, vol. 26, and is labled "Visto y puesto en su lugar. X.A." [Xavier Alegre]. Secondary authorities for this *entrada* are Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, book ii, chap. vi, where he gives a brief summary of the *Favores*; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus*, vol. iii, 102, makes brief mention of the expedition and quotes from Bernal's letter to Polici.

[187] Kino says fifteen scalps, but Bernal gives the number as thirteen.

[188] Manje states that it was the previous year that Humari was baptized (see Diary, entry for November 15). Kino doubtless knew the facts in the case.

[189] Manje estimates two hundred leagues. *Ibid.*

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Thereupon it was decided that the soldiers also should go.

The following day, November 10,[100] the day of the Patronage of Most Holy Mary, the two captains, Christoval Martín Bernal and Juan Matheo Manje, confessed and received communion, and we all together undertook the expedition[101] of about thirty-five leagues to the north, by the same river and valley of Quiburi. We met with the first Sobaipuris and with Captain Humari[102] himself, who had come three days' journey to meet us. Afterward, in seven or eight large rancherías we found more than two thousand souls, all very friendly and industrious Indians,[103] who, on hearing the

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[100] Both Manje and Bernal say that they stopped at Quiburi, starting on the eleventh.

[101] Manje gives his itinerary as Dolores, Cocóspera, San Lázaro, Santa María, San Joachín de Basosuma, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, Quiburi, Paraje de los Álamos, Cusac, Jiaspi, Muyva, Arivavia, Tutoyda, Comarsuta, La Victoria (Busac and Tubo near-by), San Gregorio Tusonimuga, Casa Grandes, Tusónimo, San Andrés, past a tank or Algibe, Santa Catarina de Cuitoabagu, Valle de Correa, San Agustín de Oiaur, San Xavier del Bac, San Cayetano del Tumagácori, Guevavi, Bacoancos, San Lázaro, Santiago de Cocóspera, Los Remedios, Dolores (compare names given by Bernal).

[102] Manje shows that Humari's village was Victoria de Ojio, the last on the river to the north. Both Kino and Venegas place it east of the river.

[103] Manje gives the following picture of the Indian settlements in the San Pedro valley: Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, a village of one hundred persons, west of the river, contained twenty-five houses. They had irrigating ditches and raised extensive crops. At Kino's request they had built a house of adobe, beams, and *terrado*, and were tending for him about one hundred cattle. A league below was Quiburi, home of Captain Coro, head Pima chief. In great valleys they raised by irrigation large quantities of maize, frijoles, and cotton, the last of which they used for clothing. Quiburi had five hundred souls. Coro entertained the Spaniards in an earth-covered house of adobe, built for the purpose. For twenty-five leagues down the river all the villages had been abandoned within a year, on account of war between Chiefs Coro and Humari. At the end of that stretch was Cusac, of seventy souls, and two leagues beyond, Jiaspi, or Rosario, a village of one hundred twenty persons and twenty-seven houses. Here they were met by Chief Humari, who had already been baptized at Dolores. The visitors were received in a specially prepared house of poles and reeds. Here as at Cusac and elsewhere, plentiful crops were raised of calabashes, frijoles, maize, and

Word of God and receiving good treatment offered us many little ones to baptize. We gave many staffs of justices, governors, and captains. In all parts they gave us many of their eatables, and always there were provisions enough and to spare, without the soldiers having brought them from the presidio for so long a journey. Nor did we ever find the least trace of the droves of horses which so falsely had been charged to these innocent Sobaipuris. For it was not they who had stolen them,[194] but the hostile Jocomes, Xanos, etc., a vindication as worthy of being known as it is plainly set forth in the two long relations[195] of the two captains who went on this expedition.

CHAPTER VII. ARRIVAL AT THE RIO GRANDE AND CASA GRANDE AND THE RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, HAVING TRAVELLED IN GOING AND RETURNING MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY LEAGUES IN PIMERIA

Travelling always by the valleys of the Rio de Quiburi, we arrived at the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila. And following its bank and its very large cottonwood

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cotton, which was dextrously woven. Through the mediation of the Spaniards, Coro and Humari now became reconciled. A league below Jiospi was Mayva and within the next six leagues four more villages, the last being Arivavia. The four aggregated five hundred persons living in one hundred and thirty houses, made of poles and reeds, in the form of "dome and gallery." Three leagues below was Tusoyda, of one hundred souls; three more leagues brought them to Comarsuta, of eighty souls, and three to La Victoria de Ojio, a village of three hundred and eighty persons, and home of chief Humari. This was the last village before reaching the Gila, but off the road and near by were Busac and Tubo, comprising eighty-five men. Thus, in the valley below Santa Cruz lived more than two thousand people in fourteen villages, chief of which were Quiburi and La Victoria, headquarters of Coro and Humari, respectively. Compare Bernal's account.

[194] Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 33, also mentions the fact that they saw no indications of horses.

[195] He refers to the diaries and reports of Manje and Bernal.

groves, after travelling three days'[196] journey to the west, we arrived at the Casa Grande[197] and its neighboring rancherías. As we journeyed we always had on the right hand[198] and in sight, but on the other bank of the river, the very extensive Apachería. The soldiers were much delighted to see the Casa Grande. We marveled at seeing that it was about a league from the river and without water; but afterward we saw that it had a large aqueduct with a very great embankment, which must have been three *varas* high and six or seven wide—wider than the causeway of Guadalupe at Mexico.[199] This very great aqueduct, as is still seen, not only conducted the water from the river to the Casa Grande, but at the same time, making a great turn, it watered and enclosed a champaign many leagues in length and breadth, and of very level and very rich land. With ease, also, one could now restore and roof the house and repair the great aqueduct for a very good pueblo, for there are near by six or seven rancherías of Pimas Sobaipuris[200] all of whom in all places received us very kindly, with crosses and arches erected and with many of their eatables, and, with great pleasure to themselves, gave us many little ones to baptize. On one occasion, when several of our horses had been scattered and lost, they at once went in search of them, nor did they give up until they had collected them all for us.

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[196] As a matter of fact, they were less than two full days, according to Manje. On the sixteenth, after having reached the junction, they went three leagues and camped; on the seventeenth they went ten leagues; on the eighteenth, nine leagues to camp. Bernal gives the same report as to the time, making the distance less.

[197] Manje, entry for the eighteenth (*Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 37) gives a detailed description of the Casas Grandes. The largest of these, he says, was three stories high, except the principal room, which was four. The walls were two feet thick.

[198] Both Manje and Bernal make it clear that they journeyed some distance south of the river.

[199] See Manje's description.

[200] Manje describes a ranchería on both banks, a league away, numbering one hundred and thirty souls. They were afraid of the horses and soldiers, never having seen any before (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 38).

We very promptly passed on by the ranchería of la Encarnación[illegible] and arrived at that of San Andrés,[illegible] where the excellent Captain Juan de Palacios (who had been at Santa María de Baseraca, travelling in going and returning four hundred leagues) welcomed us with all affection, and with so many arches and crosses that they reached for more than two leagues. And, having spoken at San Andres with some of the Cocomaricopas, and even sent them messages that they might carry them to the not very distant Moquis of New Mexico, on the twenty-first of November, 1697, we began the return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. We passed by the great ranchería and great valley of San Xavier del Bac,[illegible] in which and its environs we saw and counted more than six thousand people, all very domestic and very friendly. We found and killed cattle, sheep, and goats, and found even bread, fresh and very

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[illegible] Manje states that four leagues west of the Casa Grande they reached the ranchería of *Tusónimo*, where there was a mound of mountain goat horns like a hill, the goat being their common food. Manje estimated one hundred thousand horns in the pile and two hundred souls in the village. This is the ranchería which they called La Encarnación (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59; Bernal, *Relación*, 12).

[illegible] Leaving at Tusónimo (La Encarnación) the horses and soldiers under Barcelona, twelve soldiers went down stream seven leagues (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59). Kino was still with them (Bernal, *Relación*, 12). Going seven leagues they came to the ranchería of San Andrés, where lived Juan de Palacios, who had gone with Kino to Baseraca and been baptized, being named in honor of the provincial of Mexico. Four hundred persons lived here (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59).

[illegible] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 60) states that they started home by way of Santa Catarina de Cuitoabagu, La Valle de Correa, San Agustín de Oiaur, San Xavier del Bac, Tumacácori, Guevavi, Bacoancos, San Lázaro, Cocóspera, Los Remedios, and thence to Dolores. Bernal gives the same list except that he omits Bacoancos and San Lázaro. There is a slight discrepancy also in the dates given by the two accounts. Manje (*op. cit.*, libro ii, 63), has them at Guevavi on the twenty-seventh, then passing on to Bacoancos. Bernal has them in San Cayetano on the twenty-seventh, and in Guevavi on the twenty-eighth.

good, which they baked for us in the new oven which I had ordered at San Xavier del Bac. We arrived in time to celebrate the Feast of San Francisco Xavier on the third of December,[304] in the church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with the chanting of mass and many confessions and communions, etc., in thanksgiving for so successful an entry, of which the captains and I wrote in long relations of four or five sheets.[305] This entry was well received by all good men, because of the abundant and very clear evidence which was thereby secured as to whether the farthest Sobaipuris were good or bad, friends or enemies, involved and culpable, or innocent of the robberies and hostilities of this province. The father provincial wrote a very fine letter, and promised fathers for this Pimeria, and sent them; but the usual obstacles were not lacking to delay everything, or almost everything.[306]

CHAPTER VIII. ANOTHER ENTRY TO THE WEST WITH A FATHER AND THE SEÑOR LIEUTENANT OF THIS PIMERIA[307]

Of the fathers whom the father provincial sent us, one was Father Gaspar de las Barillas,[308] who came from Arispe to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the end of January; and having solemnized here the Feast of Candlemas, on February 3[209] we went inland to the Soba nation to the westward, that his Reverence might choose one of the three new posts, Tubutama, Consepcion, or Tucubabia, where, in each place, there were some beginnings of a mission, some baptisms, a house, cattle, crops ,etc. With us went the present lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Ramos Sarmiento, and his predecessor, Captain Juan Matheo Manje. In all places we were received with all love and comfort, both to the natives and to ourselves. Also, we counted more than three thousand souls. Father Barrillas chose La Consepcion as a good site for a mission, and returned to Arispe for his baggage, etc., and to keep Holy Week and supply himself with what the superiors ordered given him. He entered La Consepcion in June, but because of certain pretended dangers, which have existed neither then nor since, as the soldiers went in and ascertained, he left in July and has not returned.

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[304] According to Bernal they reached Dolores at 2 p.m. of December 2 (18). Manje says they arrived on December 1, but the preceding paragraph indicates that it was the second.

[305] He clearly refers to Bernal's reports, which he and others signed.

[306] Sommervogel lists a map of New Mexico by Kino dated 1697, which may have been connected with this expedition. "*Le P. Kino dressa en 1697 une carte du Nouveau-Mexique, d'après la relation Ms. du P. Estevan de Perea. De L'Isle s'en servit pour la sienne.*" (*Mém. de Trév.*, 1703, p. 676). Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 4, cols. 1044-1045. Quoted by Lowery, *A Description List of Maps*, p. 216.

[307] The principal authorities for the events of this chapter, aside from the present, are Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 6; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 89.

[308] Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 89) states that Kino brought Barrillas back with him in 1696. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 46) implies the same. But see *ante*, page 160.

CHAPTER IX. THE HOSTILE HOCOMES AND XANOS ATTACK COCOSPERA, AND BURN THE CHURCH AND THE FATHER'S HOUSE[210]

The revolted Hocomes, Sumas, and Apaches, who, ever since the uprising of the Xanos have been the avowed enemies of this province of Sonora, after so

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[209] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 270), says February 3, 1697, instead of 1698.

[210] Accounts of this event are given in Kino's *Breve Relación de la Insigne Victoria*; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, cap. 5 (65-66); Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 100-102. References are made to it in Kino's *Colocación de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*. It is clear that both Alegre and Ortega used the *Favores* for their accounts. Since writing the foregoing sentences I have acquired a report of the event by Jironza to the viceroy, dated at San Juan Bautista, Sonora, May 16, 1698 (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

According to Bernal, on September 15, 1697, the Sobaipuris of the north-many robberies, damages, and murders which they have for so many years and so continuously perpetrated all over the province and on its frontiers, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1697,[211] made an attack on Cocospora,[212] at a time when the pueblo was without men, for they had gone inland to barter maize; and although one of the enemy was left dead, they killed two Indian women, sacked the pueblo, burned it, the church, and also the house of the father, who was defended by the few natives who had remained. The enemy carried off some horses and all the small stock, and retired to the hills. A few from Cocospera followed him, but when he saw them coming he ambushed them and killed nine of them. The garrison planned to make an expedition inland, and we notified the natives that

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east and of San Xavier del Bac attacked the Jocomes, killing four and taking two children prisoners; on October 26 they attacked the Jocomes and killed thirteen; and in December reconnoitered the country of the enemy (*Relación del Estado*). It would seem that the attacks on Cocóspera and Quíburi were in retaliation for these Pima aggressions.

[211] This date should be 1698, although Kino elsewhere gives it as 1697. Kino correctly gives it as 1698 in his *Breve Relación* written May 3, 1698, just after the event and in his *Relación Diaria* of 1698. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 65) gives the date 1698; Kino, in his *Colocación*, written in 1698, refers to the attack of September 15, 1697, as the first attack of the Jocomes; and refers to the subsequent fight of March 30, "de este presente año de 98" (2); Alegre erroneously gives the date as 1697; Bancroft gives the date 1698, but Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271) carelessly follows Kino's *Favores*; Alegre tells of a previous attack on the pueblo of Juan María, but puts this event before the expedition of 1697 to the Gila (*Historia*, vol. iii, 100). Jironza, reporting the event, gives the date as March 30, 1698 (letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28).

[212] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 85) in recounting this attack on Cocóspera, tells of Father Ruiz's brave resistance, aided by the Indian governor, Juan María. According to him the enemy was three hundred strong. He tells of the burning of the house but not of the church; he says that the presidials and Pimas overtook the enemy in Sierra de Chiguicagui, killed thirty, captured sixteen, and recovered some horses. Kino's account gives a different impression. Manje adds that because of the burning of the mission Father Ruiz and the neophytes abandoned it (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 85).

they should provide themselves with arms to accompany the soldiers.[218] In the meantime, while the enemy was being despoiled of the supplies which he had taken from Cocospera, he made an attack on the ranchería of Santa Cruz de Quiburi, on the twenty-ninth of March, day of the Feast of the Resurrection of our Lord.

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[218] Kino, in his *Breve Relación*, mentions the same preparation for a campaign. Jironza gives more detail. He tells (letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698) that he arranged to make a joint expedition with two hundred or three hundred Pima allies, and was awaiting them, ready to set out, when he heard the news of the victory of March 30, 1698.

BOOK VI. VICTORY OF THE PIMAS OVER THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA, THE HOCOMES, XANOS, SUMAS, MANSOS, AND APACHES[214]

CHAPTER I. THE HOSTILE JOCOMES, XANOS, ETC., ATTACK THE RANCHERIA OF SANTA CRUZ DE QUIBURI[215]

MARCH 30, 1698.[215a] The avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Sumas, Mansos, and Apaches, who between great and small numbered about six hundred, persuading themselves that they could accomplish in Santa Cruz del Rio de Quiburi what they had done the month before in the pueblo of Cocospera, showed their arrogance by attacking the ranchería at daybreak on the morning of March 30. They killed its captain and two or three others, and forced them to retreat to their fortification, which consisted of a house of adobe and earth with embrasures.[216] But the enemy, defending themselves and covering themselves with many buckskins, approached the fortification, climbed upon its roof, destroying and burning it, and with a shot killed one man,[387] for they had one of the arquebuses which on other occasions they had taken from the soldiers. They sacked and burned the ranchería, killed three cattle and three mares of the ranch which I had here, and began to roast and stew meat and beans, and to parch and grind maize for their *pinole*, both the men and the women, who had all fought as equals, considering themselves as already quite victorious.

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[214] For other accounts of this episode, see Kino, *Breve Relación*; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, 63-66; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 274; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 100-102 (under 1697, erroneously). A newly discovered source is Jironza's letter to the viceroy, May 26, 1698 (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

[215] Kino calls it Santa Cruz de Quiburi; Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 63) Santa Cruz de Tayhanipitea; Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 100) Santa Cruz de Cuervo.

[215a] The text reads 1697, but this is a slip. See *ante*, page 176, *footnote* 212.

[216] Manje states that this *fortification* was the adobe house built by the Indians at the instance of the Spaniards—evidently since Kino's visit in 1697 (*op. cit.*). Kino, in his *Breve Relación*, states that they "retreated to their corral and *fortification* of *adobe y terrado*."

CHAPTER II. CAPTAIN CORO WITH HIS PIMAS OF QUIBURI COMES TO THE RESCUE, AND THEY KILL MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED HOSTILE JOCOMES, MANSOS, SUMAS, AND APACHES

But meantime the news reached the neighboring ranchería of Quiburi, which is a league and a half from Santa Cruz, and immediately its captain, called El Coro, came to the rescue with his brave people, together with other Pimas who had come from the west to barter for maize, and who contributed to the fortunate outcome of the event,[388] for they were supplied with the arms which we had bidden them to provide to go on the expedition with the soldiers of the presidio. The captain of the enemy, called El Capotcari,[389] proposed—for with Captain Coro came many Pimas—that they should fight, ten on one side and ten on the other. Captain Coro accepted the proposal, and selected ten Pimas, while Captain Capotcari selected ten others, the most valiant of all he had. Five were Apaches, as was also one of the other five.

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[387] Manje says that they killed three Pimas. Kino accounts for four or five dead. Jironza says that four were killed and one wounded.

[388] Manje says that five hundred came to the rescue of Quiburi, where they had gathered to go with the soldiers in a campaign against the enemy, doubtless the campaign referred to by Jironza. Kino (*Breve Relación*) says that they came "From the environs of San Javier del Bac." When near the Gila in October, 1698, Kino learned that the chief of San Bonifacio, whom he met, had been, with his braves, among those who aided in the victory at Quiburi (*Relación Diaria*).

[389] Alegre gives the name "Capotcari."

They began shooting their arrows, and, as the Pimas are very dexterous in shooting and also in parrying the arrows of their adversaries, and as the Apaches, although dexterous in shooting arrows and with the lance, are not dexterous in parrying the arrows, five Pimas soon wounded the five Apaches who were their antagonists, as did four other Pimas their adversaries, the Hocomes and Xanos. Captain Capotcari was very skillful in catching the arrows, but his opponent, a valiant Pima, grappled with him and, struggling, threw him to the ground and beat his head with stones.[280] Thereupon all the rest of the enemy began to flee, and the Pimas followed them through all those woods and hills for more than four leagues, killing and wounding more than three hundred, of whom fifty-odd[281] remained dead and stretched out nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along the trails. The remainder, about three hundred, went after this ill fortune, and from fear of the Pimas, as they confessed, to ask and to offer peace in the presidio of Xanos to Señor General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, in El Passo, New Mexico,[282] to Maestre de Campo[283] Luys Granillo, and in the pueblo of Socorro, as the letters and authentic reports from there attested. And there have remained still in revolt only sixteen braves and twenty-seven non-combatants.[284]

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[280] Manje does not tell this remarkable tale, nor, strangely enough, does Kino tell it in his *Breve Relación*, written May 3-October 25, especially to report the event. Kino's account therein of the victory is as follows: "And having conferred mouth to mouth with the principal captain of the hostile Jocomes, called Capotlari (Capotcari), said Capotlari said that Captain Coro and all his Pima men were not men but women; that the Spaniards with whom he had been joined by the *padres* were not brave; that he frequently had killed many of them and of the soldiers likewise. Thereupon the Pimas became so angered that a valiant fellow came up and knocked him down and pounded him, and the rest proceeded with like valor. They pursued their companions more than two leagues, killing them, so that there escaped only six, who were riding as many horses belonging to Cocospera." Jironza tells the story of the individual combat, much as Kino gives it here in the *Favores* (Letter to viceroy, May 26, 1698).

[281] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) says that sixty enemies were killed and one hundred sixty-eight died of poisoned arrows. Jironza says that thirty-two men and twenty-two women were killed, and many wounded, all of whom would die, "because of our knowledge of the very strong poison from the herb with which they prepare their arrows."

CHAPTER III. THE REPORTS OF THIS VICTORY WERE WELL RECEIVED IN ALL PARTS, AND IN THE REAL DE SAN JUAN WITH RINGING OF BELLS[285]

Captain Coro and the natives informed me immediately of the occurrence by a messenger, sending me the news and the count of the dead on a long stick. By another messenger I advised the Señor military commander and other fathers and seculars in the Real de San Juan and in other parts, of the fortunate event, and they responded with great joy and pleasure. The Señor military commander said that this victory would serve for the complete relief of all the province; and he agreed to give the presents which his Lordship two months before had promised these Pimas if they would strike a good blow. The father visitor wrote that he was giving a thousand thanks to his Divine Majesty for the very fortunate event. The father rector of Matape dedicated a mass and a solemn feast to the Most Holy Trinity for the good fortune. The Señor lieutenant of the Real de San Juan[286] said: "To your Reverence and to all the province I give hearty congratulations for so happy a victory of the natives; and here we are all felicitating both our Lord and Most Holy Mary, and ringing the bells for it." Captain Pedro Garzia de Almazan gave thanks on his own behalf and on behalf of the citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the Real de Nacosari; and he offered[287] and gave presents for those Pimas, as did also the father rector of Matape, Father Juan Muños de Burgos, and Captain Francisco de Escarsega.

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[282] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 46) says that the Janos separated from the Apache to make peace at El Paso.

[283] A militia officer of superior rank commanding a division of troops. Compare the French *mestre de camp*, a colonel of infantry or cavalry. The *maestre de campo* was a common official on the northern frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[284] *De Chusma.* "Muchedumbre de familias de Indios, excepto los hombres de guerra, ó sea conjunto de mujeres, niños, y viejos que componen una toldería ó campamento de Indios." I.e. non-combatants.

[285] This chapter is in part almost an exact copy of Kino's *Breve Relación* of May 3, 1698.

Nevertheless, the opposition of those ill disposed could not fail, as the letter of a certain prominent person indicates, in these words: "We are greatly rejoiced at the good news and the victory of the Pimas, and that the excellence of their work may be seen and the lie be given to many opponents who calumniated them with falsehoods." Whereupon, I called the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria to draw up the certificate and legalized investigation of what had happened. I went in the fifty leagues to Santa Cruz de Quiburi, and on the twenty-third of April we viewed the dead bodies of the enemy. We encountered the twenty-two soldiers who also, because of the incredulous, had come in, by way of Terrenate, and who were actually investigating the above mentioned and contradicted deaths. We saw and counted fifty-four corpses nearby, thirty-one of men, and twenty-three of women. The natives gave us various spoils, which we brought away with us, among them an arquebus, powder, and balls, a leathern jacket, buffalo and deer skins, bows and arrows, and scalps of the above mentioned enemies. Of the Pima natives in the rancheria of Santa Cruz five died, and nine were wounded but recovered.[illegible]

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[286] Antonio Morales. (See Kino, *Breve Relación*).

[287] They offered five hundred *pesos* in clothing (Kino, *Breve Relación*). Jironza tells us that before this victory, through his lieutenant and "Padre Quino" he had promised the Pimas two thousand *pesos* in clothing, and that he would gladly keep his promise now, since a campaign would cost more than that amount in *pinole*, meat, and tobacco (letter of May 16, 1698).

[illegible] This paragraph is taken directly from Kino's *Breve Relación*. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) states that it was Alférez Juan de Escalante, who, with Manje and twenty soldiers, went to certify to the deaths. He states that for seven leagues they followed the battle-march, counting sixty dead, and that it was reported that one hundred and sixty-eight died of poisoned arrows. He says nothing of Kino's part in spreading the news nor of his going to count the dead. Jironza tells us that he sent Escalante with twenty-five men to view the signs of the victory and to enlist the Pimas to pursue the enemy. The Pimas made excuses, and he did not urge them, since there were "recent allies" (letter of May 26, 1698). Kino took advantage of the victory above recounted to appeal for ten or twelve new missionaries. Indeed, this was the purpose for which the *Breve Relación* was written.

CHAPTER IV. ANOTHER GREAT EXPEDITION TO THE COAST OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, IN WHICH ARE DISCOVERED AND REDUCED MORE THAN FOUR THOUSAND NEW PIMA INDIANS, WHO GIVE US FOUR HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE INFANTS TO BAPTIZE[299]

This journey,[300] or mission, I relate in the letter which I wrote to the father visitor, and is as follows:

MY FATHER VISITOR ORACIO POLISE, *Pax Christi*: In obedience to your Reverence's charge that I should go inland to the exploration of the northwest coast and the disemboguement of the Rio Grande into the Sea of California, in order to report to the father provincial and his Excellency, who command that the new conversions be encouraged and that a hand be given[391] to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra by way of northwest, I went in, travelling in going and returning more than three hundred leagues. I took with me Captain Diego Carrasco, present lieutenant of this Pimeria, who also gives an account of what has happened and been seen, to the Señor alcalde mayor and military commander of this province.[392] And now that I have just arrived with

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[299] The principal original authorities for this first exploration of a route through southwestern Arizona have been: Kino, *Relación Diaria de la Entrada al norueste* of which the editor discovered the original (see "Bibliography"); Kino, *Carta del Padre Eusevio Kino al Padre visitador Horacio Polici acerca de una entrada al Noroeste* (see "Bibliography"). This letter is almost identical with the one copied by Kino in the present chapter, and, although the letter is dated October 20, yet there can be little doubt but that it should be the eighteenth. Bancroft did not have access to the diary, and asserted that it was not extant, this being another example of an unfortunate tendency of that author, who seemed to think that he had all the material that could ever be assembled. He says: "accompanied by Captain Diego Carrasco instead of Mange, an unfortunate substitute for the historical student, as the original diary is not extant" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 266); again: "but unfortunately, Manje's place was taken by Captain Carrasco, and no particulars affecting Arizona are extant" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 357). Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 105-106) used Kino's diary, and Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 272-273) summarizes the *Favores*, but does not use the diary, for which Alegre criticises him (*op. cit.*). Bancroft draws a wrong inference from the date October 20, copied by Ortega from the letter of October 18. He says of the letter of the eighteenth: "This is a hasty letter written before he had time to copy his regular diary, which was sent on October twentieth" (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 266). It seems improbable that Kino would have sent two identical letters two days apart. As a matter of fact, the copy of the diary contained at the back of the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro, i, is dated December 8, 1698. This copy was used by Bandelier as early as 1890, but he evidently did not study Kino's route carefully. (See *Final Report*, vol. i, 121). The editor was the discoverer of the original of the diary, and is the first to make extensive use of it.

Not only has the original of Kino's diary been recovered, but, still further

[300] Bancroft follows Kino, *Carta*, October 18; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 272-274; Alegre, *Historia Compañia de Jesus*, vol. iii, 105-106, (Alegre saw Kino's diary); Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. ii, 92-93; Lockman, *Travels*, vol. i, 355-

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setting aside Bancroft's view, the editor has recently secured a diary of the expedition kept by Carrasco, together with Jironza's instructions to Carrasco and his report to the viceroy. These new materials constitute an *expediente* in the Archivo de Indias (67-3-28). They comprise (a) a report by Jironza to the viceroy on May 16, 1698, recounting the Pima victory of March 30; (b) Jironza's instructions to Captain Diego Carrasco, September 15, 1698 (he was expressly instructed to hunt for a quicksilver mine reported to be in the Sobaipuris nation, to give staves of office to the chiefs, and not to leave Kino till he should be restored to his mission); (c) Carrasco's official diary, called *Diario fecho*, etc., a close copy or paraphrase of Kino's diary; (d) a report by Carrasco to Jironza, dated at Dolores, October 18, and giving a brief account of the expedition; (e) a report by Jironza to the viceroy, recounting the expedition, San Juan Baptista, March 8, 1699; (f) a *dictamen fiscal* concerning the matter by Lic. Baltasar de Tobar, Mexico, October 19, 1699.

[391] This phrase corrects a mistake in the *Memorias* version of the *Carta* of October 18. That reads "y se le demuestre al P. Juan Maria," etc. This and the *Relacion Diaria* read "y se le de mano al Pe. Jn. Maria," etc. In the *Relacion Diaria* Kino states that the journey was made in obedience to a letter by Visitor Polici to Father Mora, rector, and transmitted to Kino, who incorporates part of Father Mora's letter. Kino notes that for some months he had been in poor health, but, nevertheless, he assembled the necessary outfit and set out with twenty-five horses. Forty had been sent ahead five days before to Bac and twenty others were to set out ten days afterward for Caborca, to meet them for the return journey.

[392] Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzat. It is interesting to note the slightly differing emphasis of Kino and Jironza (who were the best of friends) in speaking of the aims of the expedition. In his instructions to Carrasco (September 15, 1698, A.G.I., 67-3-28) Jironza recites that "Quino" has reported that he is "about to make a journey to explore the Rio Grande

all prosperity, thanks be to the Lord, while I am making a fair copy of the daily relation, with its map,[383] I report to your Reverence how, on the twenty-second of September, day of the most holy name of Most Holy Mary, we set out from this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with the governor of this place and seven other persons, my servants, and with more than sixty pack animals, going inland toward the north and northwest[384] to the Rio and Casa Grande, a journey of more than one hundred leagues.[385] In the ranchería of La Encarnacion, that of San Andres, and in those nearby, we were received with all kindness, with crosses and arches erected, and with many of their eatables, by more than one thousand souls, men and women. In the ranchería of San Andres there came to render us obedience the Opas[386] and Cocomaricopas, who are a people of very distinct dress, features, and language,[387] though connected by marriage with the Pimas, and very affable

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and its disemboguement into the California Sea." Therefore, since the journey is through hostile country Carrasco is ordered to go to assist Kino, keep a diary, give Saints' names to the Indian villages, count the inhabitants, make note of water supply and distances, appoint and give *bastones* of office to governors of the villages, "and especially" to do his best to discover the quicksilver mine *reported* among the Sobaipuris.

[383] I have not seen this map, nor have I seen any other mention of it.

[384] Kino's *Carta* has it "Norte y Noroeste."

[385] The *Relacion Diaria* gives the following itinerary: Dolores, Los Remedios, San Lázaro, Bacoancos, Guebavi, San Cayetano, San Xavier del Bac, San Augustín del Oyaut, San Clemente, Santa Catalina del Cuitoabagum, the Algive (tank), Encarnación (on the Gila); San Andrés, San Angelo del Botum, San Bonifacio del Coati y del Sibuoidag, San Francisco del Adid, Anagam, Cubic tubig and Gaga near-by), San Serafín, three unnamed villages, Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui, or Bat Ki (Baggiburibma or Babgiburitutu and Ooteum near-by), San Rafael del Actum Grande, San Marcelo del Sonoidag, San Sergio, Santa Brígida, toward the sea, up Cerro de Santa Brígida (Santa Clara), San Marcelo, San Luis Bertrando del Bacapa, San Eduardo del Baipia, Caborca, San Diego del Pitquín, Santa Teresa del Adid, Tubutama (here Kino received a letter from Captain Bernal), Tupuri, Magdalena, Dolores, reached October 18.

[386] The Opas are not mentioned in the *Carta*.

[387] This passage corrects the *Carta*, which says: *"Que es gente de mas instinto y mejor semblante y trage como en su hidioma, pero muy afable."*

and docile. They desire to be Christians like the Pimas. We comforted them, giving them a captain, a governor, and a fiscal mayor, good hopes of salvation,[338] and friendly messages for all their nation, etc.

Afterward we set out for the south, the southwest, and the west, going about eighty leagues,[339] and, arriving at the Sea of California, under the lee of the estuary of the Rio Grande we found a very good port or bay in thirty-two degrees' latitude, with fresh water and timber. It must be the port which the ancient geographers called the Puerto de Santa Clara.[340] Its entrance trends from southwest to northeast, and it has a mountain chain to the west. We came from the Rio Grande to La Consepcion, reconnoitering the whole northwest coast, which is more than ninety[341] leagues long, from north to south, and has more than forty rancherías, great and small together, all the people so friendly, so docile, and so affable, that in all places they received us in houses made ready, with crosses and arches erected, giving us many of their very plentiful *pitajayas*, and hares, deer, rabbits, etc., from their hunts, and with much rejoicing, feasts, dances, and songs by day and by night. We counted in these rancherías more than four thousand persons, and they gave us to baptize four hundred and thirty-five little ones, for the most of whom Captain Diego Carrasco was godfather. In the single ranchería of San Francisco del Adid,[342] to which we

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The *Relacion Diaria* says: "*vimos como el traje hasi en las mugeres y la lengua es mui diferente de la de los pimas.*"

[338] Lacking from the *Carta*.

[339] Several words here omitted from the *Carta*.

[340] Adair Bay. Lumholtz (*op. cit.*, 197) remarks that although the Jesuits were the first to open the trail from Sonoita to the Gila, "there is no evidence to show that they ever traversed the country to the south of it, at least west of Sonoita." My map shows, however, that Kino made four journeys into the Sierra del Pinacate (Santa Clara) region over the very trails followed two hundred and ten years later by Lumholtz.

[341] The *Carta* has it "ochenta."

[342] The *Carta* has it "Anis," manifestly a mistake.

gave the name of this most glorious patriarch and great patron, San Francisco Xavier,[342a] inasmuch as in it on the fourth of October we kept his holy day, they gave us after the mass of the saint one hundred and two little ones to baptize.

In the afternoon we went two[343] leagues farther, to another ranchería, which we named San Seraphin, and they gave us to baptize sixty-five other little ones. From there, passing by La Merced del Batqui and San Raphael del Actum, a journey of about thirty-two leagues to the west,[344] we arrived at San Marzelo del Sonoidag, a post very suitable for a great settlement, because it has very good pastures and rich lands, with their irrigation ditches, and with water which runs to the port above mentioned, from which it is only twenty leagues by very level road. From San Marzelo I dispatched very friendly messages to the north. In this entry we gave more than forty staves of captains, governors, alcaldes, and fiscals.[345] We came by way of La Consepcion, passing at fifteen leagues southward from San Marzelo the ranchería of Bacapa, whither came the very Reverend Father Fray Marcos de Niza in his apostolic peregrination, and where he had reports, which he puts in his book, of the Seven Cities to the north and northeast.

After about forty leagues' journey we reached La

[342a] Evidently a mistake for "*Asis*," as Oct. 4 is the feast of St. Francis of Assisi.

[343] The *Relacion Diaria* gives this as three leagues.

[344] Most of these place names are omitted from the *Carta*. The *Relacion Diaria* does not give the direction at this point.

[345] Kino fails to mention a journey which he made at this time from Sonoita west. On October 8 they left Sonoita for the Gulf. On the way they passed San Sergio, and reached Santa Brigida, a village near the Gulf coast. On the ninth they climbed the near-by mountain of Santa Brigida or Santa Clara, and viewed the Gulf. On the tenth they returned to San Sergio and San Marcelo (*Relacion Diaria*).

Consepcion, and twenty-two leagues to the eastward we came to El Tubutama, in each of which places there are cattle, sheep and goats, wheat, maize, and a house of adobe for the fathers whom they hope to obtain. For this these natives as well as those of Tucubabia and those of San Luys supplicate and pray very fervently, tending the crops for that purpose. And I, for the ease of my conscience, commend them strongly to the fatherly protection of your Reverence, that you may be pleased to contribute to their receiving this full and only means of their eternal salvation. It has been an especial comfort to us that I have been able to say mass every day therefor, although many days we travelled twenty and twenty-two leagues, on account of the good pastures, good roads, good pack-animals, and superabundant provisions, all these natives guiding and accompanying us with all love, and, if the occasion demanded, coming to meet us with many jars of water many leagues' journey. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Oct. 20, 1698. Your Reverence's humble servant,

EUSEVIO FRANCISCO KINO.[246]

CHAPTER V. OPINIONS AND REPORTS RECEIVED IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED HAPPY ENTRY

The entry which I have just related was the occasion of the greatest comfort to Father Visitor Oracio Palise and to the military commander;[247] and they, like many others, expressed their gratification thereat in long and very fine letters. Especially rejoiced at this entry were the fathers of California, who, on seeing this coast already so well subdued, determined with the other conquerors of California to ascend higher; and their reverences afterward wrote me the two letters given here. Father Juan Maria Salvatierra speaks thus:

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[246] At the end of his *Relacion Diaria* Kino wrote a several page report entitled *Del estado, gracias al Señor, Pacifico y quieto de esta dilatada Pimeria y de la Prova. de Sonora, 1698 a.* It is an emphatic refutation of the charges that the Pimas are hostile and that the population of Pimeria Alta is small. By actual figures he shows that the population of the explored parts was more than sixteen thousand. He closes by saying that Pimeria Alta will be able to aid in converting California, "the largest island in the world."

[247] In his report of March 8, 1699, to the viceroy, Jironza emphasized the importance of the victory of March 30, the great number of Indians en-

> *Quod felix faustum fortunatumque sit.*[239] Much have I rejoiced and much has Father Francisco Maria Picolo rejoiced in the new, glorious entry from the Rio Grande; and we are desirous of knowing whether from that new coast which your Reverence traversed California may be seen, and what sign there is on that side whether this narrow sea is landlocked. We and all the people of this camp are pleased, and all salute your Reverence. I have just now received two letters from your Reverence, the first being dated October 21, shortly after you had returned from your apostolic journey in this direction. Over here, if we had not already entered and set foot on this land we know not what next.
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> But this now depends on nothing but following up the advantage gained, there being Christmas already. I tell your Reverence this that you may not be cast down with contradictions and rumors. As for the map, it will be made by Father Francisco Maria in August, after a voyage of discovery has been made in the boats as far as latitude thirty-five degrees or a little higher. I should greatly rejoice if your Reverence would come on this voyage of discovery, for thus you could disembark on the Rio Grande, by coming here after the harvest and the ingathering of the wheat. Your Reverence might embark at Hyaqui,[240] and upon your arrival here we should all set sail, your Reverence, Sebastian Romero, and one of us, with twelve soldiers, and

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encountered in the last journey, and the desire of the Sobaipuris for missionaries. The fiscal, Tuber, on October 26 recommended that Kino be asked for more explicit reports regarding the need of missionaries (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

[239] "May it be happy, joyful, and fortunate." This is a common formula, *e.g. Quod bonum, faustum, fortunatumque esset* (Cic. Div. I, 45, 102); *Ut nobis haec habitatio Bona, fausta, felix, fortunataque eveniat* (Plaut. Trin. I, 2, 3).

[240] Yaqui.

we should sail well up this coast, after going up to thirty-six degrees on the coasts of the Pimeria.

It has rained much here all this winter, and this whole land is as fragrant as a sweet-smelling garden; and if there had been lands prepared, much seed could have been sown, and all would have brought forth fruit; but one can not do everything. I thank your Reverence for your kindness to this your mission. I have been greatly pleased to learn of the placing of the image of Our Lady of Remedies in her pueblo so persecuted; and indeed I am moved to tenderness on reading of it. This Lady is to be the remedy for everything. With this I close, beseeching you not to forget me in your holy prayers and holy sacrifices. Loreto Concho, March 28, 1699. From your Reverence's servant in Christ.

JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA.

Father Francisco Maria Picolo writes thus:

May His Divine Majesty preserve for me my well beloved Father Eusevio Francisco Kino many happy years, multiplied in the glorious progress of your work of conversion. With the greatest pleasure I have read of the entry which your Reverence made from the Rio Grande, skirting by land the coast of the strait of our California, and I give your Reverence a thousand congratulations. In the name of Jesus may you snatch from the devil all those souls, and in spite of all hell, *Yllumminarvis qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent.*[290] By hearing of your heroic deeds I in my humility am encouraged to do something for the greater glory of the Lord, whom I pray to grant your Reverence many happy Easters. I hope on another and more favorable occasion to write your Reverence at greater length, reporting to you in detail the state of things here, which, because they are under the protection of our Lady[291] are prospering. Cheer me, your Reverence, with your most welcome news, for as soon as the ships arrive we shall try to go to the port which your Reverence discovered; and in the Holy Sacrifices do not forget this your useless servant and brother, Loreto Concho, March 27, 1699. Your Reverence's humble servant and brother.

FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO.

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[290] "To enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death" (*Luke*, i, 79. *Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*). Kino doubtless quotes from memory here.

[291] Our Lady of Loreto.

Thus far the fathers of California. But the accustomed contradiction and opposition, delayer and hinderer of the coming of the fathers, were not lacking. Although from their beginnings the reports to Mexico and Parral had been favorable, now those ill-disposed sent other and very contrary reports, which made it impossible to send the fathers necessary, according to the accounts which from Mexico have been written to me of the opposition and these false and very hostile stories. They were to the effect that the Cocomaricopas and other new nations of the Rio Grande, to the westward of La Encarnacion and San Andres, and of the Rio Colorado to the northwest, whither we did not penetrate, were so barbarous and such cannibals that they roasted and ate people, and they added other unheard of chimeras.

But our Lord willed that in another entry, even greater than that related – the next chapter tells of it – a few months afterward, we found, passing through all those rancherías, everything quite the contrary, and the greatest affability and friendship on the part of all those natives, without the least trace, sign, or indication of such or so falsely pretended roastings of people. And our happiness in the face of such false reports was that we had left in San Andres, as in San Marzelo, very good messages or talks for all the new nations farther on, asking them to advise me whether they wished me to come to see them, and saying that all would be for their good. And as a few weeks afterward there came to me from all parts most friendly replies and invitations and prayers that I should go to see them, and speak to them of their eternal salvation, having communicated these things to the father visitor, I determined to make another entry or mission, and to penetrate much farther than hitherto.

CHAPTER VI. ANOTHER GREAT ENTRY, IN WHICH ARE DISCOVERED MORE THAN EIGHTY LEAGUES OF LANDS AND NEW PEOPLES; FROM THE RIO GRANDE THE RIO AZUL IS SIGHTED; DETAILED INFORMATION IS SECURED IN REGARD TO THE VERY POPULOUS AND VERY LARGE RIO COLORADO NEAR-BY; AND THE NEW YUMA NATION IS REDUCED[332]

FEBRUARY 7, 1699. In order to effect a clear refutation and dispersion of the calumny which had been raised against those new nations of the Rio Grande, etc., and having gone to the Real de San Juan to secure from the alcalde mayor a lieutenant who could give an authenticated report of everything,[333] on February 7 we began this entry, the Señor Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, Father Adamo Gilg, and I, with some servants and more than ninety pack animals.[334] We entered by the northwest to San Marzelo del Sonoidag,[335] where a new ranch was begun, with thirty-six head of cattle which I ordered sent ahead for the fathers of California, if perchance they should go up to the near-by port of Santa Clara.[206] Passing very near it, we entered upon the more than forty leagues of coast and new road between there and the mouth of the Rio Grande[207] and its confluence with the Rio Colorado. By the natives whom we found along this road we were received with all love. We spent the twenty-second of February, the day of the Chair of St. Peter in Antioch, on the Rio Grande, whither more than fifty natives, Pimas, Yumas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas, had gathered; and we named the post and ranchería San Pedro, as another ranchería lower down was named San Pablo.[208]

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[332] A full diary account of this expedition is given by Manje in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 6, entitled *Relacion diaria q hice con los R. Padres Eusebio Franco. Kino y Adamo Gilg Jesuitas pr. el norueste a descubrir los Caudalos*[os] *Rios Colorado, y Jila, y Naciones Pimas, Yumas y Cocomaricopas en q sitan sus Pueblos, desde 7 de febrero asta catorce de Marzo de 1699 de 380 leguas de yda y buelta, Compañia de los Soldados*, pp. 66-84. Brief accounts are in Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, 269-271; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 357. Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 280-285; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus*, vol. iii, 117-118. In his report of March 8, 1699, to the viceroy, Jironza states that Manje went in February to the Colorado where the quicksilver mines had been reported (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

[333] According to Manje the missionaries asked General Jironza, commander of the Compañía Volante of Sonora, and Captain Ruiz de Avechuco, alcalde mayor of Sonora, for the services of Manje. Manje left the Real de San Juan Bautista, "capital" of the province, on January 6, 1699, with title of *teniente de alcalde mayor y capitan á guerra*. Traveling the forty leagues intervening, he arrived at Dolores on January 9. The departure thence was delayed by rains (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 67).

[334] Manje (*ibid.*, 67) says "eight loads of provisions, eighty horses, and vestments for saying mass."

[335] Manje gives the details. On the seventh they crossed the Sierra del Comedio, ten leagues, to San Ygnacio Caborica, where Campos was stationed; on the eighth, three leagues to Santa Magdalena de Buquivaba, thence

And because eighty leagues farther to the east, on this

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past Tupo to the Laguna del Tupo, nine leagues for the day. Here they found flax (*lino*) growing. On the ninth, twelve leagues to San Pedro del Tubutama. Since the revolt the Indians here had not had a pastor but Campos visited them annually. On the tenth, seventeen leagues to Saric, then past Busanic, and three leagues more to Tucubavia. Here and in the vicinity of Tubutama there were two thousand Indians suitable for a good mission. On the eleventh, ten leagues west to El Cuvo Verde, so called because of a tank of rain water used by the Indians. On the twelfth, five leagues west to the clear spring of Santa Eulalia, with a village near by. Here they were shown a great cave, formerly inhabited by a giant, which Manje describes with great vividness. Four leagues more to a small tank. On the thirteenth, five leagues to a flowing stream near a high, square Peñasco, visible for eighteen leagues like a castle. They called it Noah's Ark. Five more leagues to an arroyo. Sonóita was reached on the sixteenth.

[206] The chief here was made governor, and he and others went with the party as guides. Setting out on the seventeenth, they passed Carrizal, then twenty leagues to Aguaje de la Luna; twelve leagues to another good *aguaje*; fifteen leagues to Las Tinajas; six leagues to the Rio Grande, reached on the twenty-first (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 72 *et seq.*

[207] The Gila River.

[208] Manje gives a long description of the Indians at this point (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 72 *et seq.*). The Opas and Cocomaricopas are identical with the Maricopas, who still live with and below the Pimas, on the Gila River. They call themselves Pipatsje, but are called Maricopa by the Pimas. In the nineteenth century they moved up the Gila on account of wars with their kindred, the Yumas. See Hodge, *Handbook*, part i, 805-806.

same river, close to La Encarnacion and Casa Grande, there was the ranchería of San Andres, afterwards, at the suggestion of Father Adamo, giving other rancherías the names of the other holy apostles, this Rio Grande we named Rio de los Santos Apostoles. To this it may be added that all its inhabitants are fishermen, and have many nets and other tackle with which they fish all the year, sustaining themselves with the abundant fish and with their maize, beans, and calabashes, etc. These people so new, of very different dress, customs, and languages, all received us with the utmost friendship, affection, and pleasure on their part and ours, their chiefs coming out to meet us more than a league's journey, giving us afterward of their eatables, etc. We preached to them the word of God in the Pima language, and, with an interpreter, in the language of the Cocomaricopas, which is that spoken by the Opas and the Yumas. It was well received, and they would have given us many little ones to baptize, but we accepted and baptized only a few sick persons. We informed ourselves in regard to the rancherías and people farther to the north, northeast, and northwest, and of the very populous Rio Colorado near-by, which is even larger than the Rio Grande, and they told us that the Yumas, Cutganes, and Alchedomas[300] came next in order. We dispatched Christian messages and talks in all directions and occasionally some little gifts and gewgaws; and already here in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores I have received very friendly replies, in which they call me to go to treat of their eternal salvation.

These natives of San Pedro in the two days when we were with them gave us various presents of the unusual sorts which they have there. Among them were some curious and beautiful blue shells, which, so far as I know, are found only on the opposite or western coast of California. Afterward it occurred to me that not very far distant there must be a passage by land to near-by California; and shortly, by Divine grace, we shall try to find it out and see it with all exactness.[280] Father Adam made while here a vocabulary of the Cocomaricopa language. On taking our leave, February 23, we left messages for them and for those of the sea, to the effect that if the ships or fathers of California should arrive at those their coasts they should receive them with all love and without fear, for they were our brothers and men of very good heart.

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[300] A branch of the Yumas.

Leaving the natives very desirous that we should return, we took our course eastward up the Rio Grande,[281] passing by various rancherias,[282] which we gave the names of the other holy Apostles, San Matias del Tumagoidad (because on this holy day we arrived there), San Mateo, San Simon, San Felipe y Santiago, San

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[280] Manje states that he was anxious to go to the Gulf of California, that he had come expressly for this purpose, but that the Indians begged them not to do so, and that the missionaries were afraid that such a step would offend the Cocomaricopas. Manje and the Indian interpreter, Francisco Pintor, rode to a hill and were shown the junction of the Gila and Colorado. The camp was evidently near Dome and above Blaisdell. At this point Manje remarks that the natives told here of the visit of a white woman whom he thought might be Mother Maria de Jesus de Agreda, said to have visited the Indians of New Mexico and Texas, in spirit, earlier in the century. The Indians told of the visit of Oñate over ninety years before.

[281] They started on the twenty-third.

[282] According to Manje, none were seen for thirty leagues. San Matias Tutum was reached at that distance, San Mateo de Caut at thirty-four leagues. Then followed San Tadeo de Vaqui, San Simón Tucsani, and two unnamed villages (San Felipe and Santiago?). On March 1 the Gila Bend was reached, and the river was left here. Twenty-four leagues east and three from the junction with the Rio Verde they reached a Pima village called San Bartolomé; ten more leagues took them to San Andrés de Coata, visited in 1697. After passing La Encarnación, they left the river (on the fifth) and the Casa Grande. Passing the Algive (tank) made by the ancients, they went *via* San Xavier del Bac to Dolores.

Bartolome, etc. After eighty leagues' journey along the Rio Grande we arrived at San Andres, La Encarnacion, and Casa Grande, having received in all parts all kindness and many of their provisions, with almost the same courtesy as if we had journeyed among Christians. In some places they gave us so much and so very good fish that we gave it as a ration to the men, just as beef is given where it is plentiful. Likewise, they guided us and accompanied us, and came many days' journey to meet us, with the utmost friendship, loyalty, and courtesy; and although those of the west had always lived at great enmity and in very bloody wars with those of the east, toward us all were very friendly and most loving; and God willed also that we should with felicity establish peace between them, so that they ceased those conflicts, since I said to them that God our Lord, the best beloved Creator of heaven and earth and of men did not wish that peoples should persecute and kill each other so cruelly in that way; that only the devil, the common enemy of the human race, tried and sought to have men kill one another, in order that both the slain and the slayers should go to hell and to the eternal, never ending fire. They made some very friendly peace-agreements and general alliances, and they still endure, all because they wish to be peaceful Christians, and without wars, except those which might be necessary against the enemies of the faith; for in such cases even though one should die fighting to the last extremity he is saved, and such blood can even serve as baptism to one who might not be baptized with water.

This side of San Felipe y Santiago del Oyadoibuise we saw the Rio Azul,[illegible] with its pleasant cottonwood groves, which comes from near the Moquis. At San

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[illegible] Manje mentions Rio Verde but not Rio Azul.

Andres I found the letter and the cross which many months before I had despatched to the Moquis, inviting them to our friendship and their reduction, and urging that they reconcile themselves with our Holy Mother Church, returning to our holy faith. Even some years before I had urged the same thing; but then as now we found the obstacle of the very difficult passage through the Apaches. Therefore, with new messages and new gifts, and with promises to the bearers that they should be escorted by armed men wherever there was fear of any danger from the Apaches, I again despatched the letter and the cross to the Moquis and to their principal justices, for some knew how to read and write. And, as I shall later set forth, in part the purpose was accomplished.

Thanks to the infinite goodness of the Lord, so completely did we effect the desired proof that the natives of the Rio Grande, or Rio de los Apostoles, and their environs, did not roast and eat people, that the Señor Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, in his careful and well written relation that he wrote of this entry, said that, because there was so much affability, love, and affection on the part of these new peoples, he was of the opinion that years before the venerable Mother Maria de Jesus de Agreda had come to domesticate and instruct them, as there is a tradition that she came from Spain miraculously to instruct some other nations, of New Mexico, for the Reverend Fathers of San Francisco found them already somewhat instructed. Others have been of the opinion that the blessed blood of the venerable father Francisco Xavier Saeta is fertilizing and ripening these very extensive fields. Passing by San Francisco Xavier del Bac, and by San Cayetano, we arrived, thanks to the Lord, after a prosperous return trip, at

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the fourteenth of March, having traveled in going and coming about three hundred and sixty leagues.[204]

In this entry we learned that on the third of March the Sobaipuris of Captain Humaric had dealt a blow to the Apaches of the Rio de Hila, killing thirty-six[205] of them and taking captive eight little children, of whom they brought me five to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where they were baptized. A little afterward came also the very friendly replies to the messages which in the above-mentioned entry we had sent to the numerous people of the Rio Colorado.[206]

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[204] San Xavier del Bac was reached March 7, and left on the ninth. That night in a storm Father Kino was taken ill, his limbs swelling badly. Next day, in spite of continued storm, he insisted on traveling, but after going three leagues he was taken ill with vomiting and again they stopped. On the eleventh he was better, and they continued to Tumacacori. Remedios was reached on the twelfth, Cocospera on the thirteenth, and Dolores on the fourteenth.

[205] Manje says that six Apaches were killed.

[206] Manje says, at the end of his account of the journey, that it will be well now to investigate whether the rumored quicksilver mines are the gold and silver mines of the Sierra Azul, what white people are settled on the Gulf of California, whether Spaniards or strangers, and what white woman it was who had visited the Indians; to explore the "island" of California; and to ascertain the origin of the Aztecs.

BOOK VII. VISITATION BY THE FATHER VISITOR ANTTONIO LEAL, AND NEW JOURNEYS OF HIS REVERENCE TO THE PIMERIA, TO THE NORTH, NORTHWEST, AND WEST

CHAPTER I. FIRST PATERNAL LETTERS OF FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL WITH A VIEW TO ENCOURAGE THESE NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS PIMERIA

MAY AND JUNE, 1699. In May and June of 1699 the father visitor, Antonio Leal, who had just ceased to be visitor of the missions of Cinaloa, came to us at these missions of Sonora. When we were expecting missionary fathers from Mexico for this Pimeria, it was written to us that they could not come because the reports from this Pimeria had been very unfavorable and not at all uniform. Nevertheless, especially because the father visitor informed himself by word of mouth of his predecessor, God willed that things should become cleared up, and that their complete remedy should be discussed. His Reverence wrote me letters so paternal, and so tender, so zealous, and so highly charitable toward these poor children that they inspired and encouraged me to write this little book. Especially of most singular comfort to us was the letter which I received at vespers of the eve of San Ygnacio[illegible] in the Pueblo of Our Father San Ygnacio as I was returning from a little journey to Tucubabia, Tubutama, and

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[illegible] The Feast of San Ignacio falls on July 31.

La Consepcion. I read it at the altar of our Father San Ygnacio (which is in the hall, because there is no church as yet), for in it was the lighted candle, and as I received the letter in question after nightfall. When, afterwards, I gave those affectionate messages to the natives, they were most delighted, very much pleased, and very desirous of seeing his Reverence.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1699. On September 22 his Reverence writes me the following:

> I took great comfort in the desires and the constancy of those children; and since they repeat their petitions, may God grant them and satisfy their wish to see me, which I share in equal or perhaps a greater degree. And I beg your Reverence that if any really believe, you will do me the favor to salute them in my name and commend me to them.

And as from beyond the Yumas to the northwest and to the north, from the Rio Colorado, various new nations and rancherias, as a result of the messages which I sent them in the preceding entries, called me with very friendly and tender insistence to treat of their conversion, when I asked of his Reverence permission to go upon that expedition, he answered me that with much pleasure he would go personally with me on the said journey, because of the great desire which he had always had for the welfare of so many poor creatures. And when afterward I asked his Reverence to please advise me as to what I could provide for the entry in question, he wrote me these words:

> But of me or *for* me take no thought, your Reverence, nor may you take thought, because I can eat a piece of jerked beef, and it tastes very good to me and suffices me. What I really desire is that the journey may be accomplished, whereby the desire of those poor people may be *fulfilled*, and so I trust in our Lord, etc.

CHAPTER II. FIRST NEWS OF THE REDUCTION OF THE APACHES NEAREST THE RIO COLORADO

AUGUST 6 AND 7, 1699. On the sixth and seventh of August of the year 1699, the captain of San Cayetano and the governor and twelve or thirteen other justices[268] of the interior came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, saying to me that Captain Humaric and the other Sobaipuris, of La Encarnacion and of San Andres, were sending to advise me that through the cross, letter, gifts, and messages which at the beginning of March I had despatched from San Andres to the Moquis, the Apaches nearest the Rio Colorado were won over to our friendship, for the messages, letter, and cross which I sent, the Apaches had received and applied to themselves, making peace with the rest, our friends; and that the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and Pimas, were sending to call me to speak and treat of their conversion, and were sending me four buckskins as a present.

I imparted this good news to the father visitor, to the Señor military commander, and to others. The father visitor on the twenty-ninth of August answered me as follows:

> Great comfort have I received from your Reverence's letter of the seventeenth instant, because of the pleasing news of the Apaches, which is the best which this province could have; and the people of New Mexico must receive it with general bell-ringing. Already it appears that the prophecy of Fray Juan de Jesus is being fulfilled, to the effect that the Apaches were going to be reduced and embrace our holy faith in very truth and were going to form a choice Christendom.

And afterward his Reverence ends the letter with these very paternal words:

> I trust in God that our journey will be for His holy service, for I desire in the extreme to see those poor children, to whom I

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[268] *I.e.* Indian officials.

beseech your Reverence to commend me, and I commend them to our Lord, who, I trust, will take away all the obstacles in the way of their healing.

Thus far the father visitor, Antonio Leal. In regard to the Apaches, almost the same was written by the father rector of Matape and others; and although the common enemy did not fail to oppose this also, since some would have it that these reports were far from the truth, on the first of October Captain Humaric and others from the Rio Grande came and confirmed them, as did time also, thanks to the infinite goodness of our eternal God and to the celestial favors of his most holy Mother and of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier.

CHAPTER III. JOURNEY OR MISSION OF THE FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL THROUGH THE PIMERIA TO THE SOBAIPURIS OF THE NORTH, AND TO THE NORTHWEST AND THE WEST COAST TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY LEAGUES IN GOING AND RETURN, FROM OCTOBER 24 TO NOVEMBER 28, 1699. IN THE COURSE OF IT TWENTY-THREE BAPTISMS ARE PERFORMED AND ABOUT SEVEN THOUSAND SOULS ARE SEEN AND COUNTED[269]

Father Visitor Anttonio Leal, with Father Francisco Gonzalbo,[270] having arrived from the pueblo of Cucurpe at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the twenty-first of October,[271] on the twenty-fourth, day of the most glorious archangel San Miguel Raphael, we set out for Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Fifty[272] pack animals went from this district, sixty-six others, for the most part mules, having been despatched a month before to San Xavier del Bac.

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[269] A full account of this expedition is given by Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 7. This account by Kino, which is practically a diary, is the only other first-hand record available. It supplements Manje in many particulars. See volume ii, 184 for further information regarding Manje's diary.

[270] Manje gives his name as Golzalvo, from San Joseph and La Merced, in Pimería Baja (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 87, 90). See "Index" for other references to Father Gonzalvo.

[271] Manje joined them at Dolores next day.

October 25. The following day, the twenty-fifth, having said mass, we three fathers set out for Cocospora, where at midday Father Agustin de Campos overtook us. In the afternoon we passed on four leagues farther toward San Lazaro; and at eight o'clock at night the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Matheo Manje, overtook us,[273] being sent by the Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Jironsa Petris de Crusat, to accompany us in this entry with two soldiers, Antonio Ortis Cortes and Diego Rodrigues.

26. On the twenty-sixth, after nine leagues' journey, we arrived at San Luys del Bacoancos, the Indians of Santa Maria having come to see the father visitor in San Lazaro. In San Luys, where we counted forty houses, as also in the following posts or rancherías of Guebabi and San Cayetano, they received us with all kindness, with crosses and arches erected in the roads, with earth-roofed adobe houses, which they have prepared for the father whom they hope to receive; as also for the said father they have and care for a ranch with seven head of cattle, with two small droves of mares and eleven this year's colts, and with two hundred head of sheep and goats; also crops of wheat, maize, and beans. We killed one fat beef and two sheep for food.

27. On the twenty-seventh at noon we arrived at Guebavi where we counted ninety souls. There are many more in the ranchería of Los Reyes to the east-

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[272] Manje says 60.

[273] Manje makes it appear that he set out from Dolores with Kino. The latter must be right in this detail.

ward, about four leagues away. In the afternoon we passed on to San Cayetano. We slept in the earth-roofed adobe house, in which I said mass the day following.

28. On the twenty-eighth the governor of San Cayetano gave his little son to the father visitor to baptize, as also the governor of San Luys had given him his. Three other little ones they gave us, Father Gonzalvo and me, to baptize. In the afternoon we set out, to spend the night at a watering place of the river of this valley, six leagues distant.

29. On the twenty-ninth, after ten leagues' journey, we arrived, two hours past noon, at the great ranchería of San Xavier del Bac of the Sobaipuris. More than forty boys came forth to receive us with their crosses in their hands, and there were more than three hundred Indians drawn up in line, just as in the pueblos of the ancient Christians. Afterward we counted more than a thousand souls. There were an earth-roofed adobe house, cattle, sheep and goats, wheat and maize, and the sixty-six relay pack animals. We killed three beeves and two sheep. The fields and lands for sowing were so extensive and supplied with so many irrigation ditches running along the ground that the father visitor said they were sufficient for another city like Mexico.

30. On the thirtieth the governor of El Ootcam,[274] to the west, named Tocodoy Onigam,[275] came to see us, with ten other Indians. And being questioned, he told us by means of kernels of maize that he had in his ranchería two hundred and sixty-six souls.[276] In the years preceding he had given me to baptize his little

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[274] Manje says he came on the twenty-ninth.

[275] This may be the same as Anegam, the name of a village west of Bac.

[276] Manje says 270.

daughter, who was named Maria. This day Father Gonzalvo baptized a little girl.

Nov. 1. On the first of November, after the three masses said by the three fathers, we passed on to San Agustin del Oyaut,[277] four[278] leagues' journey; and leaving on the left the ranchería of San Cosme del Tucson, we passed by its splendid fields, similar to those of San Xavier del Bac. The natives received us with all kindness, and gave me four sick persons to baptize. We counted two hundred men, who represent two hundred families. The plan had been that we should go on to the Rio Grande, the Rio Azul, and the Rio Colorado, to the Opas and the Cocomaricopas, etc., but, as two servants of the father visitor fell sick, and as the soldiers of Captain Christoval Martin Bernal, for whom his Reverence was waiting, did not come, a rest of two days was taken here.[279]

2. Meantime, on the second of November, the Señor lieutenant and Antonio Ortis Cortes and I went on to Santa Catarina del Cuytoabagum,[280] a journey of fifteen leagues. We found three hundred men, who represent three hundred families, and more than one thousand persons, who received us with all kindness, giving us many kinds of their food. From here we despatched friendly messages to the nations of the Rio Grande, to the Cocomaricopas, and to the Yumas of the Rio Colorado, saying that we did not pass on to see them because two servants of the father visitor had fallen sick.[281]

3. On the third we returned to San Agustin, and almost at midnight the father visitor and I received let-

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[277] Oiaur (Manje).

[278] Six leagues' journey (Manje).

[279] This reason for not going to the Rio Grande is not given by Manje.

[280] Caytuabaga (Manje).

[281] Manje says they went to San Clemente also.

ters from Captain Christoval Martin, notifying us that he was going inland to the east with the Pimas of Captain Coro in pursuit of the hostile Joçomes. He asked of me, and I gave him for this purpose, ten head of cattle at San Luys.[282]

CHAPTER IV. RETURN OF THE FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL FROM THE INTERIOR BY THE NORTHWESTERN AND THE WESTERN COASTS

NOVEMBER 4. On the fourth we returned from San Agustin to San Xavier del Bac, where they gave us four sick little ones to baptize. Having despatched from San Xavier del Bac directly to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the two sick servants of the father visitor, we, traveling westward on the fifth, sixth, and seventh, after twenty-eight leagues' journey, and having passed by various rancherías, all of very friendly and very docile people, arrived at the ranchería of San Seraphin del Actum.[283] There came out to welcome us more than twenty justices who had assembled, and about twenty boys, who received us on their knees, with crosses in their hands, that they might give them to the father visitor; and afterward we were welcomed by more than four hundred men and many women drawn up in a very long line with their little ones already baptized, two years before. They comprised about twelve hundred souls. In the afternoon we passed on to San

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[282] Several details here are omitted by Manje. He does not say that the writer was met at San Agustín.

[283] The details for these days are given by Manje. The Indians asked for Father Golzalvo (Gonzalvo) as missionary, and Father Leal promised them that he should be sent to them. Leal expressed the opinion that the valley would support a city of thirty thousand inhabitants. (It has one with over three-fourths that population now.) On the fifth they went west ten leagues; on the sixth, six leagues to El Tups [Tupo], then three to El Cupo or El Humo. On the seventh, eight leagues to San Seraphín del Actum.

Francisco del Adid,[284] where we were received by two hundred men and about eight hundred souls, among them being many of the one hundred and two little ones whom they had given me here to baptize on the morning of the day of San Francisco, the fourth of October, two years before. All were much pleased to hear the word of God; and at night there was formed a circle of twenty-five governors, among them being the principal one of the four Cocomaricopas who had come to see us, who, with the governor of Nuestra Señor de los Dolores, spoke with fervor of their eternal salvation, and the father visitor heard that new language for the first time. And these Cocomaricopas with very rare courtesy and loyalty brought me a very fat, pretty horse, which we had left behind lost the year before.

On the eighth, having left friendly messages and some little gifts for the people of the north, the Apachería, the Moquis, etc., we set out from San Francisco, and, turning somewhat to the south, after twelve leagues' journey we arrived at Nuestra Señora de la Mersed del Batqui, where we found more than eight hundred souls, who had assembled to receive us with the same kindness as those preceding. Because another servant, one of Father Gonzalvo's, fell ill, his Reverence and the father visitor were detained[285] here. Consequently the Señor lieutenant and I went on to San Raphael of the other Actum,[286] and to San Marzelo del Sonoydag, a journey of twenty leagues, to inform ourselves better in regard to the land passage to California, to see if there were any sick, and to bring a beef from that ranch, which has fifty head of cattle, and is only twenty leagues from the good harbor of Santa Clara, on the Sea of California. And we made very careful inquiry in regard to the blue shells of the opposite coast, and to the passage by land to California.[287] In the rancherías along this route we saw and counted more than one thousand souls. I baptized three sick persons, among them a Cocomaricopa, who gave the new information regarding the Cuculatos,[288] a people of a distinct language, who live beyond the Rio Colorado. We brought beef, and, as the fathers had set out from La Mersed, we overtook them in San Ambrosio del Busanic, where we killed two other beeves and two sheep of the large and small stock, which, with wheat, maize, and beans, and an earth-roofed adobe house, these more than three hundred natives tend for the father whom they hope to receive. On the way they brought me four little ones and a sick adult to baptize.[289]

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[284] Manje calls this San Francisco de Ati.

[285] Father Leal went by carriage to Tubutama.

[286] Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, chap. vi) gives an account of most interesting experiences in 1909 in some of the very villages here mentioned by Father Kino two hundred and ten years earlier.

On the fourteenth we arrived at El Tubutama, a ten leagues' journey. We found three hundred and thirty-two souls and noted that at the stroke of the bell by their *temastián* the boys and girls under instruction come to say prayers morning and evening, as in Sonora. We found cattle and small stock, about one hundred head of the two kinds, wheat, maize, and beans, a house, and a little earth-roofed adobe church for the father whom they hope to receive; and there is almost the same outfit twenty-two leagues farther on at La Consepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca.

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[287] Manje says nothing of this phase of the matter.

[288] Mentioned in Venegas, *Noticia de California*, vol. i, 58 (1759), and as Cuculates by Taylor in Browne, *Res. Pac. Slope*, app. 54, 1869.

[289] The details of the journey are given by Manje. On the eighth they went thirteen leagues to San Rafael; on the ninth, nine to Baguiburisac, and sixteen to El Coat y Sibagoyda (San Bonifacio. See the journey of 1698); on the tenth, travelling all night, thirty-three leagues to Sonóita; on the eleventh, travelling day and night, fifty leagues to Busanic; on the thirteenth to Tubutama. Manje is one day ahead of Kino from here on to San Ignacio, where Manje says they remained two days.

On the fifteenth, we arrived at Santa Maria Magdalena; on the sixteenth at San Ygnacio, where Father Agustin de Campos welcomed us; on the seventeenth at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; and on the eighteenth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER V. EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN CORO'S PIMAS SOBAIPURIS AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE, IN COMPANY WITH THE GARRISON; AND THE GOOD FORTUNE WHICH THEY HAD

At the same time that we made the above mentioned expedition somewhat further to the west, Captain Christoval Martin Bernal, who had asked of me and whom I had given ten beeves from the new ranch of San Luys, made an expedition to the Sobaipuris of the east and of the Rio de Quiburi, with the soldiers of the presidio; and with the same Sobaipuris of Captain Coro he made an expedition to the enemies of this province of Sonora who live even farther to the east; and on his return to his presidio of Coro de Guachi, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1699, he wrote me the following letter:

> For what I owe and the obligation which I am under to your Reverence I write these lines, informing you how our Lord was pleased to allow me to make an attack upon a little ranchería of enemies, and how in it our loving excellent Pimas showed great fidelity in their friendship to us; for three of the enemy's braves and three women were killed, and we took twelve prisoners; wherefore, I give infinite thanks to the divine Majesty for our good fortune, and to your Reverence, since by means of your most Christian heart and great zeal so many souls are gained for heaven, and so many rebels against our holy faith are punished. May our Lord keep them in peace, that we all may have the rest

> which we desire, and grant your Reverence the health which my affectionate love desires for you, at whose feet I offer mine. I received the ten beeves which I asked of your Reverence.

Thus far Captain Christoval Martin Bernal. The Señor military commander, on the sixth of December, concerning this particular wrote me the following:

> I thank your Reverence for the news of the victory of my arms and of my dear Pimas Sobaipuris; for we can all give one another hearty congratulations for the good fortune and for the defeat which they inflicted upon the enemy. (And afterward his Lordship adds:) I beg that your Reverence will give thanks to Captain Coro and to the other natives on my behalf and on behalf of my soldiers, for Captain Christoval Martin tells me they did well.[290]

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[290] At this point Manje records an expedition made in 1700 which Kino omits here but alludes to later on. In December, 1699, Father Melchor Bartiromo requested General Jironza to send a squadron of soldiers to restrain the Seris, who were molesting Tuape, Cucurpe, and Magdalena, which he administered. Alférez J. B. de Escalante accordingly set out in January, 1700, with fifteen soldiers, going to the ranchería of Santa Magdalena de Tepocas, then to Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, where Father Gilg was stationed. Accompanied by Gilg, he then pursued the Seris to the Gulf, but they escaped to the islands. He now returned to Tuape and Santa Magdalena, then went to the Gulf by a different route and gathered one hundred and twenty Tepocas, whom he turned over to Father Bartíromo. Late in March Escalante returned to the coast, pursued the Seris to the islands, and took some of them to Father Bartíromo, returning to Cucurpe in April. Being called to San Ignacio by Father Campos, he made a foray northward in which he captured one hundred and twelve delinquent Indians whom he delivered to Father Campos. He then went south through Pimería Baja to Belén and Yaqui, recovering apostates. At the end of six months and after a journey of two hundred leagues, he returned to his presidio. These activities of Escalante are a good illustration of the coöperation usual between the soldiers and the missionaries in controlling the frontier Indians. Kino alludes to Escalante's expedition on page 234, *post,* and on pages 238-239, *post,* quotes a letter from Escalante giving added light on it.

BOOK VIII. OF THE GREAT FRUIT, SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, WHICH AT SMALL COST TO HIS ROYAL MAJESTY (GOD PRESERVE HIM) CAN BE GARNERED AMONG THE SURROUNDING NATIONS OF ALL THIS NORTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I. OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, IN GENERAL ALMOST UNKNOWN

Among the above-mentioned favors which our Lord has granted us in these expeditions, or missions, conversions, discoveries, reductions, conquests, spiritual and temporal, and baptisms, it can be inferred that one is the great, good, and abundant fruit which, in the service of the two Majesties, can be secured, not only in the discovered parts, but also in all this very extensive northern district of all this North America, which is the greatest and best remaining portion of the world, because the discovery and conquest have just been effected, both on this mainland and on the very extensive, great and populous California near-by, that in all parts the very many souls may be saved and redeemed by the most precious blood of our Redeemer Jesus, and all at small cost to the royal treasury. For most of these lands are very rich and fertile, most of the Indians industrious, many of the lands mineral bearing, and most of them of a climate so good that it is very similar to the best of Europe, to that of Castilla, to that of Andalucia, to that of Italy, to that of France, to that of Germany; because most of this North America is in the same degrees of altitude of the north pole or geographical latitude as Europe itself, that is, in 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50 degrees and upward; also because this North America is so extensive that it exceeds all kingdoms and empires and provinces of all Europe; and little by little, with good management, and if some conquests already made lend a hand to those which may be in progress, as the royal *cédulas* suggest, through these spiritual and temporal conquests to the west and to the northwest it will be possible to cross to the opposite coast of the Sea of California and to its cape of Mendosino, and to the harbor of Monte Rey; and there will be possible a port of call for the ship of China or the Philippine galleon, and at the same time some commerce for these provinces of Sonora, Nueva Biscaya, and Nueva Galizia, etc. And to the north and northeast it will be possible to penetrate to Gran Quibira and to Gran Teguayo, etc., and to the Strait of Anian;[291] and perhaps also in that direction it will be possible to open a way and shorter water route to Spain.

CHAPTER II. OF THE NEIGHBORING GREAT CALIFORNIA

In the very extensive neighboring California, which is about six hundred leagues long from southeast to northwest, and about one hundred leagues wide from east to west, I lived almost two years continuously, at the time of the enterprise and conquest by the admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon,[292] in the years 83, 84, and 85, having with me Father Pedro Matias Goñi and Father Juan Baptista Copart, and holding the office of rector of the mission, although unworthy; and with the commission of cosmographer of his Majesty (God guard him), I made a map, which was printed. And in latitude twenty-six degrees we crossed to the opposite coast from the Real de San Bruno, with more than eighty horses, a journey of about sixty leagues, finding in all parts many people, friendly, docile and affable. This was all at the very great and Catholic expense of the royal treasury, which, with the construction of the three ships, *Capitana, Almiranta*, and *Patache*, and with the seamen and soldiers, provisions, munitions, etc., exceeded half a million.[293]

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[291] All through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was widespread belief in the existence of a northern passage, called the Strait of Anian, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and all the leading nations made efforts to find it. This was one of the permanent aims of Spanish exploration on the western coast of America. See Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, for an excellent chapter on "The Northern Mystery and Imaginary Geography, 1500-1595."

In the Real de San Bruno, in San Ysidro and San Dionisio, and in their vicinity, we left the people, more than four thousand souls, very submissive, very docile, very friendly, somewhat instructed in the principal mysteries of our holy faith, and with great desire to receive holy baptism, although, because of lack of authority we baptized only thirteen sick or dying, of whom three recovered, inasmuch as in the month of May this enterprise was abandoned or suspended, for reasons which our Lord knoweth, and because afterward from Matanchel we set out in the South Sea in November, 1685, by order of his Excellency, with two of the ships of California to meet and warn and rescue the China galleon from the hostile pirates, for the

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[292] For other references to Kino's expedition to California with Atondo, see the "Index" under "Atondo."

[293] As a matter of fact, the cost was only a quarter of a million, as is frequently stated on official authority. Kino evidently had not access to official sources of information on this point.

Pichilingues[294] with many pirogues were lying in wait for it, to rob it, in the port of Navidad.[295]

The holy zeal of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra was so moved to compassion that, as has already been stated, on hearing, in his visit to this Pimeria,[296] of the ripeness of so great a harvest of souls, he made a report to Mexico as early as the year 1691, in order that the conquest and conversion of the said Californias should be continued; and although his purpose was not immediately accomplished, his Reverence did accomplish it afterward.

CHAPTER III. FATHER JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, AVAILING HIMSELF OF THE ALMS OF THE FAITHFUL, CROSSES OVER FROM HYAQUI TO THE CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA IN 1697[297]

By his untiring and holy zeal, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra succeeded with such felicity and efficacy, thanks to the sovereign Lord, to most holy Mary and to the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, in crossing over to California, that on the tenth of October, 1697, he accomplished his glorious purposes, embarking in Hyaqui with the necessary men and funds by means of the alms which his Reverence obtained from the faithful and from various pious persons, especially Don Juan Cavallero.[298]

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[294] The name given the Dutch pirates on the West Coast.

[295] Navidad is a port on the coast of Mexico in latitude 19° 13′ and twenty miles northwest of Manzanillo harbor. In the sixteenth century it was one of the most important western harbors, and was the port for the Manila galleon before that of Acapulco was opened.

From Kino's own letters, just obtained from Seville, we now know that on May 30, 1685, he was at Torin, Sinaloa; on October 10 he was at the Jesuit College of Guadalajara; on November 15 he was on board the *Almiranta* at Matanchel ready to go to meet the Manila galleon; on February 15, 1686, he was at the Casa Profesa, Mexico (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

[296] See *ante*, pages 117-121, for Salvatierra's visit to Pimeria Alta and his journey into Arizona with Kino.

[297] The details of Salvatierra's expedition to California are given in Father Picolo's report, volume ii, 46-67. Other original authorities are Salvatierra's letters printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex., segunda série*, vol. i, 103-157. Some newly discovered manuscript sources are listed in the "Bibliography." For secondary accounts see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, and Venegas, *Noticia*.

I was also to go on this enterprise with his Reverence, but the superiors here, the royal justice, and the citizens of this province, through reports which they sent to Mexico, prevented me.[299] Afterward Father Francisco Picolo crossed over, and the most glorious fruit which their Reverences are producing merits other separate treatises by a better pen, for mine is very clumsy; for now, with the other conquerors, they have three large ships of their own, and other small ones; this year of 1699 they have already found very rich lands in latitude twenty-six degrees, and are beginning three excellent missions, one called Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Concho, on the east coast, another called San Francisco Xavier del Nipe[300] on the sierra and inland; (and another, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores)[301] they intend to found on the opposite coast. From the lofty sierra which we named La Giganta they see both seas, that of California to the east, and the South Sea to the west. Everything inspires very great hopes that where there had been so many and almost insuperable obstacles, the infinite goodness of our Lord with His celestial favors is going to establish a very flourishing Christendom and bring about the eternal salvation of very many souls.

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[298] The beginnings of the Pious Fund are set forth by Engelhardt, vol. i, 73-75. Don Alonso Dávalos, Conde de Miravalles, and Don Mateo Fernández de la Cruz, Marqués de Buena Vista, each promised $1,000. Others followed their example, and $15,000 were soon raised. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, treasurer of Acapulco, donated a launch. The Cofradía de N.S. de los Dolores, in Mexico, gave $20,000, and Rev. Juan Cavallero y Ocio, a wealthy priest of Querétaro, gave $20,000.

[299] In 1698 Kino was granted a license to spend half his time in California. See volume II, 257-258.

[300] A mis-copy for Viggé.

[301] In the margin of the original.

CHAPTER IV. VARIOUS VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TO CALIFORNIA SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN [illegible]

During the eighteen years that I have lived in New Spain I have tried to acquire all the information possible in regard to those who have gone to California, and in what years, and I have obtained the following:

The first who went to discover California and to enter the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz was the Marques del Valle, Don Fernando Cortes, who, having conquered Mexico in the year 1522, eleven years afterward, in 1533, with twelve[illegible] ships undertook and accomplished this discovery of California.[illegible]

In the year 1535 the new and first viceroy of New

[illegible] Excellent chapters on the subject are found in Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, chaps. iii, iv, vi, vii, and viii. On the whole, the summary by Kino is remarkably good, as compared with other accounts written at so early a date. A valuable summary of the various attempts to subdue California was made by the Council of the Indies on July 9, 1701, in a document bearing the title: *Consejo de Indias a 9 de Julio de 1701. Representa a V. Mgd. lo que ha passado en la conquista poblacion y reduccion de las Californias desde su principio; El Estado que oy tiene, y las providencias que combendra se den para ayudar a los Religiosos de la Compañia que se han encargado de esta empresa y la tienen muy adelantada.* Eleven Ms. pages (A.G.I. Aud. de Guadalajara, 67-1-37). The document notes a pearl fishing permit before that of Vizcaino, namely, one given in 1585, by the Viceroy Moya de Contreras, to Fernando de Santa Ortiz.

[illegible] Apparently a slip for two—*dos*.

[illegible] The reference is to the expedition of Becerra and Grijalva in the *Concepción* and the *San Lázaro*, from Tehuantepec, in 1533. The crew of the *Concepción* murdered Becerra, and, under command of Fortún Jiménez, discovered California. Jiménez, in turn, was murdered by his crew (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, 45-47, and works there cited).

Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, sent to continue this enterprise General Francisco de Alarcon with other ships with high decks, which were all lost, and the soldiers and mariners barely escaped with their lives, but reached the port of Navidad. Hereupon explorers were discouraged for many years.[305]

In the year 1597 Sebastian Biscaino went at his own expense to the Californias with five religious of San Francisco, but shortly afterward returned to Acapulco.[306]

In the year 1602, in the time of Feliphe III, the Conde de Monte Rey being viceroy, he[307] went at the expense of the royal treasury with three ships and with three religious of Nuestra Señora del Carmen and traced all the west coast.[308]

In the year 1606 there came a royal *cédula* to the Señor viceroy, Conde de Montes Claros, ordering that the above named Sebastian Biscaino should go to settle in the port of Monte Rey.

In the year 1615, Captain Yturbide,[309] with the license which he had secured from Felipe III, and after the Pichilingues had taken away one of his two ships, went to California with the other. He went up to thirty degrees of latitude, and the Señor viceroy, the Marques de Guadalcazar, sent him to advise the ship from China that the Pichilingues, Dutch pirates, were lying in wait for him.

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[305] Kino has apparently confused the expedition of Cortés in 1535 with that of Alarcón in 1540. Cortés led a colony to California but it soon failed. Alarcón's expedition of 1540 was a part of the Coronado expedition to New Mexico.

[306] The Vizcaino expedition started in 1596 and returned in 1597.

[307] Vizcaino.

[308] For diaries of this expedition, see Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 43-133. The three Carmelites were friars Andrés de la Asumpción, Antonio de la Ascensión, and Tomás de Aquino.

[309] Iturbe. See Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 9-10; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, 163-164.

In the year 1632, Captain Francisco de Ortega,[210] with a ship which he had built at his own expense, went from Masatlan on the first of March to the bays of the Californias which they call Bahia de San Bernabe and Bahia de la Paz; and in the month of September returned to Cinaloa.[211]

In the following year, 1633, this Captain Francisco de Ortega went a second time with two clerics named Don Diego de las Navas and Don Juan de Zuñiga, who in the harbor of Nuestra Señora de la Paz solemnized one hundred and six baptisms. He went up to thirty-two degrees latitude, and returned to New Spain; and although he went three times to these Californias, their conquest was not effected.

A few years afterward, about 1636, Captain Carboneli, who had been a pilot of Captain Ortega, went to the Californias. He went up to thirty-six degrees latitude. Also, the new governor of Cinaloa, Luys Sestin de Cañas, went in a little ship. He took with him Father Jasinto Cortes, of the Company of Jesus, who on his return wrote to the father provincial, Luys de Bonifas, of the docility and meekness of the natives of the Californias, offering himself as missionary there.[212]

In the years 1643 and 1644 Phelipe IV sent the Admiral Don Pedro Portel de Casanate to the Californias, at the same time charging the Señor Conde de

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[210] For the Ortega voyages see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 170-176.

[211] The dates given by Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 171-172) vary slightly from those given here.

[212] For Carbonel, see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 175-176. The expedition of Conde de Cañas was in 1642. *Ibid.*, 181.

Salvatierra with their conquest and conversion; and said Admiral, having built two ships, set out to meet the China ship at the Island of Zeniza."[213] In going and returning he merely entered in passing the Bay of San Bernabe; and having arrived at the mouth of the Rio de Santiago, whence he sent a post to his Excellency, the villains burnt his two ships."[214]

In the year 1647 the same Admiral built two other ships in the Villa de Cinaloa; and in the years 1648 and 1649 he went in them a second time to the Californias, taking with him Father Jasinto Cortes and Father Andres Baes. He discovered many harbors and coves, and in all parts many natives. Later he was sent to warn the China ship, and soon afterward entered upon the governorship of Chile."[215]

In the year 1664 Admiral Don Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero went to California at his Majesty's expense[216] with two ships which he had built in the Valle de Vanderas; but, although some pearls were obtained, because of the discord and the deaths which occurred the purpose of the conquest was not accomplished, neither then nor when three years afterward[217] came the order for him to go again to California, as he did in the year 1667, with two other ships, which he had built in the Puerto de Chacala with money which he had borrowed.

In the year 1668 Captain Francisco de Lusenilla went to the Californias with two ships which he had built at his own expense, and with two religious of San Francisco he reached the Cape of San Lucas and the port of Nuestra Señora de la Pas. Finally, he returned to the port of San Francisco Xavier de los Guaimas, near the mouth of the Rio de Hyaqui.[218]

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[213] An island north of Cerros Island, near the outer coast of Lower California. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, Index.

[214] They were burned in the harbor of the Santiago or [illegible], the deed being charged to the Portuguese competitor of Casanate. Bancroft, *ibid.*, 182-183.

[215] Kino gives data here that Bancroft did not have. See *ibid.*, 183. The accounts by Venegas and Alegre are evidently taken directly from this passage.

[216] Bancroft does not give the date. *Ibid.*, 184.

[217] The text reads "eight years afterward" but is corrected in the margin to read "three years afterward." See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 183-184.

In the years 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, and 1685, by order of his Majesty Don Carlos II (God guard him), in the time of the viceroys Don Fray Payo and the Marques de la Laguna, Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon built in Cinaloa to go to the Californias (at a cost of more than half a million[219] to the royal treasury) three ships, the *Capitana*, *Almiranta*, and *Balandra*; and on the twenty-fifth of March of the year 1684,[219a] we went and reached the Puerto de la Paz, and higher up, in latitude twenty-six degrees, the Real de San Bruno. By land we crossed over to the opposite coast, discovering the Rio de Santo Thomas, and in all parts many natives, docile and peaceable. Three fathers of the Company of Jesus went also, and in the eighteen months that we were in said California we left many of the natives instructed. In the year 1685 we were sent to meet the China ship, and we convoyed it in safety to the port of Acapulco.[220] In Mexico his Excellency granted us an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars; but because at the time when it was about to be paid requests came from Spain for five hundred thousand dollars, the conquest was suspended. Recently we have had a glimpse of it on three occasions by way of the Pimeria; in the years 1693 and 1694, in latitude thirty degrees, from the very shores of the arm of the sea which divides the land of California from that of this Pimeria, which is no more than eighteen leagues wide.[221]

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[218] See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. I, 184-185.

[219] The cost was a quarter of a million in fact. See *ante*, page 214.

[219a] A mistake for 1683.

[220] For accounts of Atondo's attempt, see *ante*, pages 35-49, 213-214.

Captain Francisco de Ytamarra went to California in the month of October, 1694, and found that the natives of the Island of San Bruno, of San Dionisio, and of San Agustin asked with insistence for the fathers of the Company of Jesus.[222]

On the tenth of October, 1697, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra went to California with alms from the faithful, and I, who was appointed as his companion, remained for the present in this Pimeria by order of the Señor viceroy and of the father provincial, Father Francisco Maria Picolo going in my place.

CHAPTER V. OTHER RECENT INFORMATION IN REGARD TO THE PRESENT STATE OF CALIFORNIA, DERIVED FROM THE LETTERS WHICH FATHER JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA WRITES TO THE FATHER VISITOR ANTTONIO LEAL, ON SEPTEMBER 2, AND TO ME ON OCTOBER 17, 1699

Since the time when I was in California, at the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz and at the Real de San Bruno, I have been aided and succored with all liberality and charity by Father Gaspar Thomas, rector of the College of Matape, and the father visitor, Juan Bautista de Anzieta, visitor of these missions of Cinaloa and Sonora, and many other fathers. The long letter of the Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salvatierra to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal says in substance the following:

> The father provincial Luis de Bonifas prophesied that the

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[221] See *ante*, pages 125-126.

[222] Venegas and Alegre, on whom Bancroft depends for data on Itamarra, follow Kino. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 194.

missions of California would be colonies of those of Nueva Biscaya and that one would aid another. As Father Andres Peres[222] relates, with the coming of the China ship to the opposite coast and with the development of water transportation, in time not a few things which are very dear in the province will become cheaper. Let these missions of California, so small and new, be aided for two or three years, and afterward they will sustain themselves.

That province of Sonora has been the mother of all the missions for the last thirty years, since in Sonora (and in the visitation of the Pimeria in the year 1691) were born the strong desires whence has resulted the birth of this mission of California. In it, thanks be to the Lord, is the pueblo of Loreto Concho, and in it are fifty-four persons from the other side, from New Spain, soldiers, women, and salaried servants. On the sea I have thirty-two mariners in three vessels, all salaried. On land the Indians are at peace and in subjection. We have good land, and the opposite coast has been reconnoitered and explored. And if we are not deserted, sometime we shall make an expedition by land and by sea to the opposite shore for the discovery of a good harbor (in the vicinity and latitude of this post of Loreto), suitable to shelter the China ship and succor any that comes into it in great distress, for mere lack of a landing-place, a long standing want, and motive enough for our Company, mother of the sick and disabled, to take in hand any enterprise. We two fathers here have four new pueblos, the adults being catechumens, and many little ones and sick adults being Christians; and they subject themselves to receive punishment without mutinies or revolts. Here every kind of animal multiplies; and already there are here eight species of animals from the other side, now acclimated to Loreto. With two years only of encouragement it appears to me this will be altogether assured.

I have no lack of means for the payment of the soldiers, servants, and sailors, nor for merchandise. They receive their pay whenever they wish, indeed, they have received five thousand *pesos* by appropriation in Mexico in royal securities this year;

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[222] The reference is to Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los Triomphos de Nuestra Santa Fee.*

and the goods are cheap here. The only lack I have suffered is of provisions, and, because of this shortage, some worries and danger of mutiny among the people. But the most holy Virgin, conqueror and colonizer, has been present with us in all and has brought us succor not on one occasion, but on many, when least we expected it, as is the case now with the return of the bark, by which I have received twenty-four loads, twenty-three of flour and one of *pinole*, a fine present, all of which comes to me from the province of Sonora. The natives not yet conquered tremble before our arms, directed by the arm of Mary. And we hope that in the first expedition to San Xavier del Vigge, which is in the centre of the sierra, those of the opposite coast will come to render obedience, to facilitate matters, and that they themselves may be the ones to call us to go to their land and prevent so far as possible the outbreak of war or confusion.

Thus far Father Juan Maria Salvatierra to Father Visitor Antonio Leal; and to me, on October 17, his Reverence writes the following:

Father Francisco Maria Picolo is at present in the pueblo of San Xavier Bisontom, within the sierra, a very pleasant land. Eusebio, your Reverence's son, Andresillo's nephew, is well, and salutes your Reverence, to whom because of haste I write no more.

LORETO CONCHO.

October 17, 1699.

PART II

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, experienced in the New Conversions of this North America, or New Philippines, in the Years 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702; and the New Discovery of the Passage by Mainland to California in Thirty-two Degrees of Latitude, by which it is found to be not an Island, but a Peninsula, with very Fertile Lands, with Very Large, Rich, and Populous Rivers, with Many Gentle, Docile, and Friendly New Nations.

BOOK I. OF THE MEASURES, DISPOSITIONS, AND EXPEDITIONS WHICH IN THE YEAR 1699 ARE MADE IN ORDER TO DISCOVER THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I. LETTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL SUPERIORS, AND THE VERY CATHOLIC ROYAL *CÉDULA*, WHICH INSPIRE THE WRITING OF THIS SECOND PART OF THE *CELESTIAL FAVORS*

Having written, by order of our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, the account of the celestial favors, which I have set forth in the First Part, and having sent it from the Real de San Juan to Mexico by Bachelor Don Joseph Moreno that it might be taken to Rome, as it was taken by the father procurators Bernardo Rolandegui and Nicolas de Vera,[illegible] his Reverence answered me in a letter of December 24, 1701, which I received December 26, 1702, that he had received it and read it with such pleasure that most affectionately he charged me to write this Second Part. At the same time the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, also wrote me a very paternal holy letter, with the superscription of the rector[illegible] of these missions of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, asking me for information in regard to them, to give to our father general. And soon afterward, by the hand of the father visitor,

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[illegible] See *post*, page 371.

[illegible] *I.e.*, forwarded by the rector.

Antonio Leal, his Reverence sent me the printed report on the state of California which Father Francisco Maria Picolo drew up and printed,[286] with the inserted very Catholic and most Christian royal *cédula* of the King our Lord Felipe V (God preserve him many most happy years) dated July 17, 1701, which so greatly favors the new conquests and new conversions, not only of California, but also of Cinaloa and Sonora and of this Nueva Biscaya where we live, enjoining their encouragement and advancement, at the same time with that of the new conversions of California, and containing these most pious words to his Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara:

> I ask and charge you to inform me very minutely in regard to the region in which the uncivilized Indians are found, and the present state of the conversions in Cinaloa, and Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, that in view of these reports and your opinion I may proceed to adopt the measures which I may deem expedient,[287] etc.

The royal *cédula* as well as the letters of the principal superiors will be put in their place at the time when they were received, that is, at the close of 1702, as most singular celestial favors which, in the midst of such contradictions, we have experienced in these new conversions. All these things impel me with great force to write this second part, as my continued and multitudinous occupations may permit.

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[286] Printed in this work, volume ii, 46-67.

[287] A transcript of this *cédula*, from the Archivo General de Indias (A.G.I. 67-3-28) is in the Bancroft Library. Kino does not quote exactly here, but paraphrases the paragraph.

CHAPTER II. IN VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS REPORTS OF THE PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA ARE OBTAINED[228]

When, ten years ago, setting out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for the west, and passing through the lands of El Soba, I arrived, after sixty leagues' journey, on three different occasions with different persons at the coast of the Sea of California, we saw plainly that that arm of the sea kept getting narrower, for in this latitude of thirty-three degrees we already saw on the other side more than twenty-five leagues of California land in a stretch so distinctly that we estimated the distance across or width of that arm of the sea to be no more than fifteen or eighteen or twenty leagues.[229]

Therefrom arose the desire to ascertain the width higher up; and in the year 1698, at thirty-five degrees latitude, and at one hundred and five leagues by a northwest course from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the very high hill, or ancient volcano, of Santa Clara, I descried most plainly both with a telescope and without a telescope the junction of these lands of New Spain with those of California, the head of this Sea of California,[230] and the land passage which was there in thirty-five degrees latitude. At that time, however, I did not recognize it as such, and I persuaded myself that farther on and more to the west the Sea of California must extend to a higher latitude and communicate with the North Sea or Strait of Anian, and must leave or make California an island. And it was with me as with the brethren of Joseph, who ate with him and made merry with him, he giving them the wheat and provisions which they required, and talked with him but knew him not, until his time.[331]

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[228] This chapter summarizes the genesis of Kino's idea of the peninsularity of California.

[229] See *ante*, pages 225-226.

[230] See *ante*, pages 184-185.

A year afterward, at the suggestion of the father visitor, Oracio Police, I penetrated one hundred and seventy leagues to the northwest, and went beyond thirty-five degrees north latitude, with Father Adamo Gilg and Captain Juan Mateo Manje, and almost reached the confluence of the Rio Grande de Hila and the Colorado, where the natives gave us some blue shells.[332] And still it did not occur to us that by that way there was a land-passage to California, or to the head of its sea; and not until we were on the road returning to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores did it occur to me that those blue shells must be from the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, and that by the route by which they had come thence, from there to here, we could pass from here thither, and to California. And from that time forward I ceased work on the bark, twelve *varas* long and four wide, which we were building at La Concepcion del Cabotca near the Sea of California, and here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, intending to carry it afterward, entire, to the sea.

CHAPTER III. DIARY OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH IN ORDER TO DISCOVER A ROAD AND ROUTE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA, AS MANY PERSONS DESIRE, WRITE ABOUT, AND REQUEST[333]

MARCH 29, 1700. The expedition of which I write in this and the three following chapters I made from the twenty-first of April to the sixth of May, 1700; and the father visitor, Antonio Leal, saw, read, and signed the account, with these words: "I have seen this account and the letters which in it are cited, and the originals are as they are quoted."

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[331] *Genesis*, chaps. 42-45.

[332] See *ante*, pages 195-199.

[333] So far as I am aware, there is no other first hand account of the expedition which gives the story of the founding of Mision San Xavier del Bac. Ortega wrote his brief account from this, and others have followed him.

Being in the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios on the twentieth of March, a governor from near the Rio Grande, and other Pima natives, brought me a holy cross, with a string of twenty blue shells, which were sent me by the principal governor of the Cocomaricopas, who lives in the great ranchería of Dacoydag, with a very friendly response to some messages which I had sent him, inviting him to receive our holy faith, in imitation of many others. This ranchería is on the Rio Colorado, and is one hundred and seventy leagues to the northwest of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And again reflecting that those blue shells were from the opposite coast, as I had seen them there when I was in California, I informed several fathers of them, sending them afterward, together with the holy cross, to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal; for his predecessors, Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales, Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and Father Visitor Oracio Police, had very strongly urged the exploration of those lands, seas, and rivers of the north and of the northwest.

In the middle of April his Reverence replied to me as follows: "The cross and shells came with your Reverence's letter to Arispe, and I greatly rejoice at seeing them, because of the distance whence they sent them, which is an indication of friendliness." And Father Marcos Antonio Kappus, rector of the College of Matape, on the tenth of April wrote me the following: "God bless me! And what great news and how rare is that which your Reverence imparts to me, and which the people of the north and the northwest bring you, to the effect that it is possible to pass overland to California, news truly the greatest, if it is verified, but which, although desired so long, it has never been possible to confirm. May our Lord grant that the news may be verified, since for Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra it will be most gratifying, etc."

Also, the reverend father rector of this mission of San Francisco Xavier, Adamo Gilg, wrote me that it was expedient to employ means to verify these things, etc.; and the Señor military commander, Don Domingo Jyronza Petris de Cruzatt, informed me that he had the same very anxious zeal for those discoveries; while at this very same time came to me the desired license from our father general, Tyrso Gonzales, to occupy myself six months of the year in this Pimeria and six in California. For this reason and in order at the same time to cast a glance at the spiritual and temporal condition of the three newly begun missions of the north and the northwest, I determined to go inland for a few days to find out and obtain all possible information in regard to these matters.

APRIL 21, 1700. And, setting out on the twenty-first of April from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with three justices of this pueblo, seven servants, and fifty-three sumpters, some being mules and others horses, we arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

22. On the twenty-second, having in the morning given orders as to what the natives were to do in the building of the new church, in the afternoon we reached Cocospora, where we were received by one hundred and fifty natives, who had just returned to settle this pueblo, and had just rebuilt and roofed a hall and a lodge for

the father's house, with orders soon to roof the little church also, for three years before, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1697, the hostile Hojomes and Janos had sacked and burned this pueblo, although soon afterward, on the thirtieth of March, near Quiburi Captain Coro with his Pima people routed and destroyed them, killing more than two hundred of them, as is related in the First Part.[illegible]

23. On the twenty-third, three infants having been given us to baptize, we set out for San Lazaro, where we took our siesta, and where they gave us a little girl to baptize, and on the way to San Luys they gave us two others, one little girl, and one adult, a sick woman; and another, a little boy, on our arrival at San Luys, where the five justices of Guebavi came to meet us, with those of San Luys. We killed one beef of the one hundred and fifty which they were tending there, with a drove of mares, and with one hundred and seventeen head of sheep and goats, with a good field of wheat, maize, and beans which they had, and with an earth-roofed adobe house, all for the father whom, with the other neighboring rancherías, or incipient pueblos, they hoped to receive.

24. On the twenty-fourth we set out for Guebavi and San Cayetano. In Guebavi, where we took a siesta, there were about two hundred souls; in Los Reyes de Sonoydag, five leagues farther eastward, Captain Coro had gathered with all his people, who numbered more than five hundred souls. Thirteen days before, at Easter, here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he had been instructed and baptized, naming himself Antonio Leal. In all places there were many more people, and more houses than when we entered here six months be-

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[illegible] This was in 1698, as has been made clear, *ante*, page 176, *footnote* 211.

fore with Father Visitor Antonio Leal and the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Mateo Manje.[illegible] Here at Guebavi there were also eighty-four head of sheep and goats, a good field of wheat, maize and beans ready for harvest, and an earth-roofed adobe house for the father whom they hoped to receive. In the afternoon we arrived at San Cayetano.

25. On the twenty-fifth we set out for San Xavier del Bac, of the Sobaypuris, about twenty leagues' journey, arriving at nightfall, and being welcomed with all kindness by many natives of this great ranchería. We gave them here, as in other places, the paternal greetings which the father visitor sent to all, and they were very grateful for them; also the word of God was spoken to them, and was well received.

CHAPTER IV. AT SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC OF THE SOBAYPORIS I CALLED THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS FROM MORE THAN FORTY LEAGUES AROUND TO FIND OUT WHETHER THE BLUE SHELLS CAME FROM ANY OTHER REGION THAN THE OPPOSITE COAST OF CALIFORNIA

APRIL 26, 1700. Having arrived at this great ranchería of San Xavier del Baac of these Sobaiporis of the west, which are those of the Rio de Santa Maria (the Sobaypuris of the Rio de San Joseph living thirty leagues farther to the east) I heard the news which also I had heard on the road two or three days before, that some soldiers had gone into the Pimeria of Soba and of the west, and finding myself with so many Indians in this great valley, who were close to three thousand, and also in view of the many prayers of the natives that I should stay with them, I determined not to go farther.

[illegible] See *ante*, pages 203-210.

And from this great valley of San Xavier, by way of the Rio Grande westward as far as the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, and even to the Rio Colorado, as I desired, I tried to take and did take measures to find out whether the blue shells came from any other region than the opposite coast of California. To that end I despatched various messengers in all directions, some to the east to call Captain Humaric; others to the north to call those of Santa Catalina, and those of La Encarnacion and of San Andres, of the Rio Grande, with their justices, governors, and captains; and especially others to the west and northwest to call various Pima, Opa, and Cocomaricopa governors from near the Rio Colorado, to learn with all possible exactness in regard to the blue shells and the passage by land to California. During the seven days that we were here, while most of those whom I sent with the invitations were on the way, we catechized the people and taught them the Christian doctrine every day, morning and afternoon. We killed six beeves of the three hundred which they were tending for me here, with forty head of sheep and goats, and a small drove of mares. They had also a good field of wheat which was beginning to head; and during the following days they planted for the church a large field of maize, which they had previously cleared.

27. On the twenty-seventh they gave me five little ones to baptize.

28. On the twenty-eighth we began the foundations of a very large and capacious church[illegible] and house of San Xavier del Baac, all the many people working with much pleasure and zeal, some in digging for the foundations, others in hauling many and very good stones of *tezontle* from a little hill which was about a quarter

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[illegible] This paragraph should set at rest forever the perennial conjectures regarding the date of the founding of the celebrated mission of San Xavier del Bac.

of a league away.[237] For the mortar for these foundations it was not necessary to haul water, because by means of the irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished. And that house, with its great court and garden near by, will be able to have throughout the year all the water it may need, running to any place or work-room one may please, and one of the greatest and best fields in all Nueva Biscaya.

29. On the twenty-ninth we continued laying the foundations of the church and of the house. Today and yesterday Captain Humaric and his son, named Oracio Police, arrived from the Sobaiporis of the east; the other and elder son, named Francisco Xavier, had remained behind to guard their country, which is on the Apache frontier. Many other justices also came, and among them an alcalde to whom the soldiers in the last expedition, which they made in November, 1699, had given the staff of office.

30. On the thirtieth, at sunrise, various letters from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores were brought me by a courier of this Pimeria, who, it appeared, must have made the sixty leagues which intervenes in a day and a half and the two nights. After mass I went down to the ranchería of San Cosme, a three leagues' journey, and to that of San Agustin, two leagues farther, to see whether there were any sick or little ones to baptize. At San Cosme they gave me six children to baptize, and one adult, a sick woman; and at San Agustin I baptized three more little ones. In the afternoon we returned to San Xavier del Bacc, and at nightfall various justices arrived from the northwest and from Santa Catalina and from the Rio and Casa Grande, among

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[237] Apparently the hill to the east of the mission on which is placed the grotto of Lourdes. *Tezontle* is a porous stone much used for building in Mexico.

them being the captain and governor of La Encarnacion, thirty-five leagues away. Immediately, and also at night, we had long talks, in the first place in regard to our holy faith, and in regard to the peace, and quietude, and love, and happiness of Christians, and they promised, as we requested of them, to carry these good news and teachings to other rancherías and nations much farther on, to the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, etc. At the same time I made further and further inquiries as to whence came the blue shells, and all asserted that there were none in this nearest Sea of California, but that they came from other lands more remote.

We discussed also what means there might be whereby to penetrate to the Moquis of New Mexico, and we found that by going straight north the entry would be very difficult, since these Pimas were on very unfriendly terms with the Apaches who live between, although the distance and the journey was probably not more than sixty or seventy leagues, for this valley of San Xavier del Baac is in thirty-two and a half degrees of north latitude, and the Moquis and Zuñis in thirty-six degrees.

MAY 1, 1700. On the first of May, in the afternoon and at nightfall, many justices, captains, and governors arrived from the west, from San Francisco del Addi, and from San Serafin, some coming forty and fifty leagues. We talked with them a great part of the night, as we had done the night before, in regard to the eternal salvation of all those nations of the west and the northwest, at the same time continuing various inquiries in regard to the blue shells which were brought from the northwest and from the Yumas and Cutganes, which admittedly came from the opposite coast of California and from the sea which is ten or twelve days' journey farther than this other Sea of California, on which there are shells of pearl and white, and many others, but none of those blue ones[388] which they gave us among the Yumas and sent me with the holy cross to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

CHAPTER V. LETTERS WHICH REACH ME FROM THE SOLDIERS WHO MEANTIME HAD COME INTO THE PIMERIA, FROM CUCURPE TO SAN YGNACIO AND TO TUBUTAMA, ETC.

This first day of May there also reached me, from the southwest, letters from the squadron of soldiers who had come to Tubutama and Saric, and whose commander, Alférez Juan Bautista Escalante, wrote me the following:

> My Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, I can not refrain from writing these lines to inform your Reverence that, having entered this Pimeria, I have come to two rancherías which I had never seen before, namely, that of El Saric, and this one higher up, called El Busanic [and Tucubavia].[389] I assure your Reverence I have infinitely rejoiced and also been impressed to see so many people as are here together, for, as they are obedient and docile they are better than Christian pueblos. But it is a great pity that these poor creatures lack a father minister to lead and guide them to the bosom of our holy faith. In order to report this truth to my general, that he may coöperate in this very holy work, I ordered all the people assembled, and I found and counted four hundred and thirty-seven souls, a source of much pleasure to all. These are in this ranchería of Busanic alone; in the one which I have seen lower down there are also many people. I am about to start outward, and therefore I am not going further into the interior. Now I pray the divine Majesty to grant your Reverence the health which my great affection desires for you, and which your great zeal and your great charity deserves, for the protection of this heathendom. From this

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[388] Here Kino draws on his experience in California between 1683 and 1685.

[389] Added on the margin of the original Ms.

rancheria of El Busanic, April 26, 1700. I kiss your Reverence's hand. Your faithful servant, JUAN BAUTISTA ESCALANTE.

P.S. I report to your Reverence also that in this rancheria I killed a bull for them[240] from the stock which your Reverence has here, and I beg your Reverence to approve it.

Thus far the commander of the soldiers. Juan Cassos wrote almost the same. And as all this Pimeria, seventeen thousand souls, are being reduced, well may it be seen how great a need there is for workers.

CHAPTER VI. MY RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, AND MY DESIRE AND ATTEMPT TO LIVE AND ESTABLISH A MISSION AT SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC, IN ORDER TO BE NEARER TO SO MANY NEW NATIONS

MAY 2. On May 2, having solemnized three other baptisms and two marriages *in facie Ecclesiæ*,[241] and bidding goodbye to those captains and governors, we set out for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. All the children gave me many messages for the father visitor, for the other fathers, the Señor military commander, and all of the Spaniards; and the captain of San Xavier del Baac gave me his son, who was probably about twelve years old, to come and he did come with me the sixty leagues' journey to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be taught the prayers and the Christian doctrine and to assist at mass.

3. On the third, in San Cayetano, as I was going at sunrise to say mass, I received a letter from Father Agustín de Campos, in which his Reverence summoned me to San Ygnacio to help save from death a poor delinquent whom the soldiers had taken prisoner with the intent and determination to beat him to death the fol-

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[240] For the soldiers.

[241] "Before the church."

lowing day, May 4. I replied that I would go immediately after mass. I also wrote to Alférez Juan Bautista Escalante, thanking him for the letter which I had received two days before at San Xavier del Baac. Travelling that day more than twenty-five leagues, I arrived almost at midnight at San Joseph de Hymeres, and the next day very early, in time to say mass, at San Ygnacio, and we succeeded in rescuing the prisoner from death.

5-6. On the fifth I arrived with two soldiers at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and on the sixth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where, in answer to a letter which I had written from San Francisco Xavier del Baac to the father visitor, Antonio Leal, offering myself and even expressing my desire and pleading to be the missionary at San Xavier del Baac and asking that a successor be given me at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I received from his Reverence the following very fine letter:

> I thank your Reverence sincerely in the name of our Lord for the work which you have undertaken in His holy service for the welfare of those poor souls, for visiting them, for the good you have done in the confessions, etc., and for which you will have your reward laid up in heaven. Let me say, my father, that, in regard to what your Reverence writes about the founding of San Xavier del Baac, what has been said has been said, and that your Reverence may look upon it as your mission, because it appears to me very expedient for the progress in the future; for, your Reverence being so far this way at los Dolores, it is not so easy to see and to go frequently to the people of the Rio Grande. And so, when your Reverence may think best and may please, it shall be arranged, and your Reverence may go thither, as we agreed when we discussed it there.[348]

Thus far the father visitor, Antonio Leal. And in fact, within a few days, here at Nuestra Señora de los

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[348] The reference is to the journey of 1699 by Leal and Kino. It is shown elsewhere that Kino did not go to Bac, but that Father Gonzalvo went in his stead.

Dolores I ordered rounded up the fourteen hundred-odd cattle which were here and told the overseer that, dividing them into two equal parts, he should take, as he did take, one part to San Francisco Xavier del Baac, and they made for him the necessary corrals, etc. But never did a father come to succeed me in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, nor could I go permanently to San Xavier del Baac.

When I had communicated the news of this expedition to various persons, the father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, on the fifteenth day of May wrote me the following:

> I thank your Reverence for your most delightful letter, and also for the sending of the blue shells; and I shall welcome most heartily the announcement of these discoveries. I am very strongly of the opinion that this land which we are in is mainland and joins that of California. May our Lord grant that there be a road as royal as we think and desire, for thereby the labor as well as the care of California will be lessened.

Afterward, on the third of September, when I was arranging to make an expedition longer than I had theretofore made, his Reverence wrote me these words:

> If your Reverence accomplishes the entry by land into California we shall celebrate with great applause so happy a journey, whereby the world will be enlightened as to whether it is an island or a peninsula, which to this day is unknown. *Quod bonum, felix, faustum fortunatumque sit, cedatque ad Dei ter optimi maximi gloriam.*[240]

The father rector of Oposura, Manuel Gonzales, on the twenty-eighth of May wrote me the following:

> I greatly desire that your Reverence may finally make this most desired expedition by land into the Californias. If you accomplish this we must erect to you a rich and famous statue,

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[240] "May it be good, happy, joyful, and fortunate, and may it redound to the glory of God, thrice holy and mighty."

and if it is short there will be two statues. May God give your Reverence health and strength for this and many other equally good things besides.

Thus far the father rector of Oposura. I answered his Reverence that one of the two statues should be of Jesus of Nazareth, to whom his Reverence was so devoted that he had built and adorned for Him in Oposura the best chapel there is in all these lands; and the other of Our Lady of Sorrows.

CHAPTER VII. EXPEDITION OF ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY LEAGUES TO THE NORTH AND NORTHWEST IN SEARCH OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA; AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE VERY LARGE, POPULOUS, AND FERTILE RIO COLORADO (WHICH IS THE TRUE RIO DEL NORTE), AND OF THE NEW NATIONS[244]

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1700. This chapter and the six following are taken from the diary of the expedition which we made in the months of September and October, 1700. In this chapter I shall tell of my arrival at Rio Grande and among the Cocomaricopa nation, a journey of more than one hundred leagues, and in the others the rest. I went toward the north and returned by the west, travelling in going and returning more than three hundred and eighty leagues, from the twenty-fourth of September to the twenty-ninth of October, 1700, and in the meantime I solemnized forty-two-baptisms of infants and sick persons.

SEPTEMBER 24. I set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with ten servants of the district and with sixty pack-animals, many of them mules. On this day, the twenty-fourth, we arrived early at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, after a journey of seven leagues. That afternoon we assisted in the building of the new house, and I left them orders and instructions for the new lodge which in my absence they were to finish building and roofing.

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[244] The value of Kino's work at this point is illustrated by Bancroft's remark concerning this journey: "The diaries are not extant, and such details as we have relate mainly to California geography, having little interest for our present purpose" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 359). True then, Bancroft's statement no longer holds. Manje, not being with the expedition, does not give a diary of it.

25. On the twenty-fifth we set out for the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were about a thousand cattle and four droves of mares for the new conversions which were being founded; and having passed by the ranchería of Babasaqui, we arrived after a journey of thirteen leagues and killed a fat beef, which had more than four *arrobas* of suet and tallow.

26. On the twenty-sixth, after a journey of fifteen leagues, we arrived at San Ambrosio del Busanic y del Tucubabia, the captain of this ranchería or incipient pueblo coming four leagues to meet us. Here they were tending for me seventy cattle, as many head of sheep and goats, and five droves of mares, besides wheat, maize, and beans, together with their medium-sized church for the father whom they hoped to receive.

27. On the twenty-seventh, having solemnized after mass nine baptisms, seven of little ones and two of the sick adults, and having sent to advise the people of La Consepcion del Cabotca that within twelve or fifteen [days] they should come to meet us at the ranchería of San Marcelo del Sonoydag, of the coast of the Sea of California, we set out for the watering place of Santa Eulalia and arrived, after a journey of twelve leagues, about an hour after nightfall, because we had been detained in a ranchería of more than three hundred Indians. Their governor had come as far as San Ambrosio del Busanic, and, having spoken to them the Word of God, they made an agreement with us to the

effect that if there should be a missionary father all would assemble to be baptized at San Ambrosio.

28. On the twenty-eighth we set out from the good watering place of Santa Eulalia in company with the fiscal mayor of a ranchería which is two leagues beyond. We arrived at this ranchería, where they had prepared for us a very great heap of tunas, besides other provisions. As the muleteers had dropped along that road some pieces of dried meat which they carried, the Indians of this ranchería who came behind, having found them, were so courteous and loyal that they brought them to us, and in view of this loyalty I divided among them the meat and other little gifts. We travelled today up to nightfall sixteen leagues, through level lands which we had never travelled over or seen before.

29. On the twenty-ninth, four leagues after having set out from the place, we met with more than forty Indians, comprising the principal persons of this vicinity, among them being the captain of San Rafael, the captain of El Comac, and other governors, who had come ten, twenty, and thirty leagues, and who received us with crosses which they carried in their hands and which they gave us. Immediately they sent to various places to bring us many provisions. After travelling six leagues farther we arrived at the water-hole of Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui, where more than two hundred souls had come together. There were various talks on doctrine, given by myself and my teachers[246] of doctrine, especially at nightfall, when we taught them, in the Pima language, the method of baptism for dying persons and other cases of necessity which may and sometimes do occur, when there is no priest. Here they gave us two infants to baptize.

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[246] *I.e.* Indian interpreters and teachers.

30. On the thirtieth of September, having despatched half of the servants with the greater part of the horses to go to await us ten or twelve days in the ranch and rancheria of San Marzelo del Sonoydag, to the westward, we set out with the best horses and mules toward the north for El Comac and the Rio Grande. Having passed by four other lesser rancherías, at nightfall and after twenty leagues of very level road we arrived at a great rancheria which we named San Gerónimo, because it was the day of this saint. They received us with crosses and arches erected, with a little house, and with provisions prepared, two hundred and eighty Indians (for we counted them) being drawn up in line, as in the Christian pueblos. An hour after nightfall one hundred and fifty other Indians of another rancheria came to see us and to extend to us a welcome; because it was night neither the women nor the children had come. Upon inquiry we learned that in this vicinity, into which we had never before entered, there were more than a thousand persons, who had never seen a father or any Spaniard. To all we spoke the Word of God, which was well received.

October 1, 1700. On October 1 they gave us seven infants and three sick adults to baptize; and if we had stayed a day, as they requested, they would have given us more than one hundred infants to baptize. Here a new governor, a fiscal mayor, and other justices were appointed.[illegible] This governor, the captain of El Comac, and the governor of San Francisco, went on with us to the Rio Grande, accompanying us and guiding us with all courtesy. At a league's distance there came out to meet us an Indian with four little children, one sick, that I might baptize them, and I baptized the sick child

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[illegible] Kino does not mention any military or secular officer with him. In case there was none, Kino must have acted for the King in appointing officers.

for him. They gave us a large quantity of maize and calabashes, but we accepted only a little for that day. After a journey of six leagues we arrived at a very good watering-place, and after twelve more at another, among inaccessible rocks, which the pack-animals could not reach to drink, although the guides brought us enough water for ourselves.

2. On the second, after a journey of ten leagues, we arrived at the Rio Grande and at its ranchería of El Tutto, where we found more than two hundred persons. More than one hundred and fifty other Indians, from among the principal ones, came to see us from farther up and farther down; and some came to see us from the [Colorado] river, because they had been informed that at this time I was to pass through this region. All were very affable, docile, and friendly people, the Cocomaricopas as well as those of the Rio Colorado; for although they are of a different language, there are always among them many Pimas and others who speak the Pima language very well. They brought us many of their eatables, and we spoke the Word of God both to the Pimas and, through an interpreter, to the Cocomaricopas of this place and from the Rio Colorado, all of whom were rejoiced to hear it.

CHAPTER VIII. WE DESCEND THE RIO GRANDE TO THE WEST, AND AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY LEAGUES REACH THE YUMA NATION, DISCOVER FOUR NEW NATIONS, AND SIGHT THE CALIFORNIAS[247]

3. On October 3, day of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, we set out for the west accompanied by many of the people who had come to see us. There was also the

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[247] It is not easy to identify all the villages named in this journey down stream with those named in the journey up stream a year earlier. See pages 193-199.

governor of El Tutto, who knew very well both the Pima and the Cocomaricopa languages, and the alcalde of San Felipe y Santiago del Oyadaybuise, who from the east and up the river had brought me the notice which the captain of La Encarnacion had sent me to the effect that his people had dealt a blow to the Apaches. After a journey of six leagues over very good road we arrived at the ranchería called Guoydag, of more than two hundred persons, many of whom were from the Rio Colorado. During today's march the boys kept throwing great quantities of grass to the mules and horses, delighted that they ate it and did not eat boys, as they had been made to believe was the case the year before, when we entered in February, being then very much afraid of us and fleeing from us, but now having lost that fear entirely. In the afternoon, after going seven leagues more, we reached the ranchería of San Mateo del Batki,[440] where they received us with divers of their dishes and with fish.

4. On the fourth they gave us an infant to baptize. We set out for San Matías del Tutumagoydag,[441] and, after a journey of thirteen leagues, arrived an hour before sunset, having passed by three rancherías in which there must have been about seven hundred persons, including many families from the Rio Colorado, all of whom showed us great kindness. In San Matías they received us with all friendliness. We gave some presents to the guides and interpreters, who went no further with us, because thereafter we would be entering the Yuma nation, with whom they were on unfriendly terms, because of some murders which had taken place

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[440] This seems to be the San Tadeo de Vaqui visited February 26, 1699. See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 79.

[441] This is the San Matías Tutum mentioned in Manje's diary of 1699 as the first village above San Pedro.

during the preceding months. But when we told them that in future they should come in peace, they accepted our counsels and requested us that among the Yumas also we should become mediators of very firm peace-agreements, as we did.

5. On the fifth, having talked the night before till almost midnight about the Word of God, and having charged them to carry it on to the Rio Colorado, and they having given us an infant to baptize, we set out for the Yumas, always to the west and down the Rio Grande (or Rio de los Santos Apóstoles); and having traveled about fifteen leagues over good but uninhabited road, we arrived at a good place which we named La Sienega de los Patos, or Laguna de los Ansares, for there were great numbers of ducks and geese. We saw various rancherías which had been deserted during the preceding months.

6. On the sixth, setting out from La Cienega de los Patos, after twelve leagues of very level road we met the first Yumas, of San Pedro and of San Pablo. We had penetrated to this point when they gave us the first blue shells in February of the year before. They received us very affectionately, even giving the dog which was with us water and *pinole* in a little basket, with all kindness, as if he were a person, wondering that he was so tame and faithful, a thing never before seen by them. In this respect they were like the Californians when we went to see them the first time fifteen years before.

In three other respects we afterward found, during these days, these natives and their country are like the Californians: first, in the dress of the men and women; second, in that the men cut their hair in one way and the boys in another; third, in that here there are various trees native to California, such as the incense tree and the tree bearing the fruit which they called *medessé*.

In the afternoon we set out toward the north, now with Yuma guides. Here the river runs about eight leagues to the north and afterward turns again to the west. On the way they gave us great quantities of fish, both raw and cooked; for, although they had their little fields of maize, beans, calabashes, and watermelons, the beans and maize were not yet ripe. We spent the night at a very good stopping-place, which we called Camp of Las Sandías, for there were watermelons in a very rich sandy beach at the foot of a hill, from the top of which California is plainly visible; and this day was the day of San Bruno, patron of California.

7. On the seventh, setting out down stream, after going four leagues we halted near a ranchería, which, however, was on the other side of the river; and while I despatched some friendly messages to the rancherías round about, with the governor, the alcalde, and my major-domo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and the four best pack-mules that we had, I ascended a hill to the westward, where we thought we should be able to see the Sea of California; but looking and sighting toward the south, the west, and the southwest, both with a long range telescope and without, we saw more than thirty leagues of level country, without any sea, and the junction of the Rio Colorado with this Rio Grande (or Rio de Hila, or Rio de los Apóstoles), and their many groves and plains. We afterwards learned that in those lands and their vicinity lived four new nations, of friendly and industrious Indians, the Quiquima, Bagiopa, Hoabonomas, and Cutganas. Returning to our stopping-place we ate, adding some sweetmeats for joy that now, thank the Lord, we had seen the lands pertaining to California, without any sea between and separating those lands from it. Because our Pima guides, the captain and the governor of El Comac, the son of

the captain of San Raphael, and the captain of Actum, named Miguel, were becoming weary, and because the time for collecting the alms of cattle which the fathers of these missions of Sonora were giving for California were pressing upon me, I determined to return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER IX. HAVING SEEN THAT THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA DID NOT EXTEND TO THIRTY-FIVE DEGREES, WHEN WE SET OUT ON THE RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES THE MANY NATIVES FROM FARTHER ALONG CALL US AND CAUSE US TO RETURN, AND WE GO ON TO THE LARGE RIO COLORADO

When, this same day, October 7, about four in the afternoon, we were setting out from the stopping-place to spend the night at the Camp of Las Sandías, I was overtaken by the governor of these Yumas, to whom we had given the staff of office the year before, and who came from the junction of the rivers, saying to me that those natives were begging that I should go to see them. The relay was already setting out with my baggage and the vestments and paraphernalia for saying mass, and I let them go, remaining to speak very leisurely with this governor, who knew very well both the Pima and the Yuma languages, and having informed myself thoroughly that afternoon and part of the night in regard to the gulf of California, the surrounding new nations, and especially the large population of the great-volumed Rio Colorado near-by, it seemed to me a matter of conscience not to go to see those numerous natives.

8. On the eighth I arose very early and overtook my servants, and after saying mass at the camp of Las Sandías at dawn, and turning back to go to see these natives of the junction of the rivers, after a journey of

two leagues I met more than forty of them, who had come to overtake me, travelling all night, fearing that I might go without seeing them. They rejoiced greatly that I was now going to see them. As most of them were on the other side of this Rio Grande, I told them to go and notify them to cross to this side. But as they said that the people were numerous and all were asking that I should cross over there, they sought and found me a ford where this Rio Grande divides into three branches; and, crossing it, after eight leagues of very good road I arrived at the first Yumas of the very large volumed Rio Colorado, who came forth two leagues to receive us with many of their viands. Here were many of those who the previous year, 1699, had come out to see us at the post or rancheria of San Pedro, so named because of having said there the first mass which was said in this new nation, on the day of the Chair of Saint Peter, the twenty-second of February of the past year, when I entered with Father Adamo Gilg and Captain Juan Mateo Manje. The natives at once very lovingly asked us about his Reverence and his Grace, why they had not returned, etc., and we told them that they were in good health, and that perhaps some other time they would come here again.

On arriving at the great rancheria of the Rio Colorado, more than a thousand persons, assembled together, welcomed us; soon more than two hundred others came, and the following day more than three hundred, who came from the other side of this very large volumed Rio Colorado (which is the true and real Rio del Norte of the ancients) swimming across it. We made them many talks about our holy faith, which were very well received, and they thanked us for them with very tender and loving words and talks, both in the Pima language and in the Yuma or Cocomaricopa, which are the same. These talks, ours and theirs, lasted almost the whole afternoon and afterward till midnight, with very great pleasure to all. They begged of me to stay with them, if only one or two days, saying that many people were coming from up the river where the Alchedomas live, and from down the river where the Quiquimas, Bagiopas, and Hoabonomas live. But I dared not linger, lest I fail in coming to collect the cattle for California, as I had been charged, and as the branding time was near at hand.

9. On the ninth, after mass, they gave me two sick adults to baptize. One was called Dionisio, because it was the day of this glorious, holy martyr; likewise, because the mass of this saint had been said here, the rancheria and very good post, close to the junction of the rivers, was called San Dionisio.

Most of the Indians who this morning came to see us, travelling nearly all the night, and swimming across the river, were of very lofty stature, and the principal one of them was of gigantic size and the largest Indian that we had ever seen. To him and two others we gave staffs of the office of justice. On taking our leave we comforted them, saying that we would try to return, as they so importuned and desired.

This very large volumed, populous, and fertile Colorado River, which without exception is the largest in all New Spain, is that which the ancient cosmographers by antonomasia called Rio del Norte. It very probably comes from Gran Quivira; and it is certain that by the fertile and pleasant lands of this great river one can penetrate to the Moquis, since it flows ten leagues west of those pueblos, and since the rancheria of San Dionisio, as I have found by measuring the height of the sun with the astrolabe, is in thirty-five and one-half degrees of [north] latitude. Ascending this river, which comes almost uniformly from the northeast, another degree and a half, which in this latitude makes a journey of thirty-six leagues, one reaches thirty-six degrees,[230] which is the latitude of the Moquis, missions pertaining to New Mexico; and there is probably no danger in this region that the Apaches would impede the entry.

CHAPTER X. WE TAKE LEAVE OF THE MANY PEOPLE OF THE RIO COLORADO, OR RIO DEL NORTE, AND RETURN BY THE OTHER ROUTE, THROUGH SAN MARZELO

This day, October 9, having set out from San Dionisio and the junction of the two rivers, we arrived in the afternoon at the camp of Las Sandías, where our relay was, and then passed on two leagues farther to a ranchería, where they gave us a great quantity of fish. We ascended another and higher hill, whence at sunset we plainly descried a large stretch of country in California and saw that the two rivers, below the confluence, ran united about ten leagues to the west, and then, turning southward, about twenty leagues farther on emptied into the head of the Sea of California.

10. On the tenth, leaving the Rio Grande and coming by the route by which we had entered in the month of February of the past year, we arrived in time to take our siesta at the tank of La Tinaja; and travelling in the afternoon about twelve leagues farther, we arrived an hour after nightfall at the watering-place which also the past year we had called El Agua Escondida, because it was among the rocks.[231]

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[230] There is an obvious discrepancy here.

[231] Some writers have confused Kino's La Tinaja with modern Tinajas

11. On the eleventh, after dispatching most of the servants with the relay, that they might go on to take their siesta and wait for me wherever they should come across good pasturage for the pack-animals, I turned toward the west and ascended another hill, but I saw nothing more than the continuation of these lands with those of California, and the sands of the California sea. Overtaking the servants, and travelling today twelve leagues, we arrived before sunset at the tank of La Luna, for we had given it this name the year before because we had arrived there at night by moonlight. And because this watering-place is among some rocks so high that the pack-animals cannot ascend to drink water, we determined to eat a morsel of supper there and then travel, and we did travel, three hours more by night, in order to reach the watering-place of Carrizal with more ease the following day.

12. On the twelfth, arising more than two hours before dawn, and setting out from the stopping-place at the rising of the morning star, after thirteen leagues of very good roads we arrived at ten o'clock at the good

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Atlas. Eldredge (*Beginnings of San Francisco*, vol. i, 60) speaks of Kino's Aguaje de la Luna and Agua Escondida as one and the same, though the diaries give them as twelve leagues apart. Agua Escondida was evidently modern Tinajas Altas. An excellent description of Tinajas Altas is given in *Report of the Boundary Commission* (Washington, 1898), part ii, 25. Aguaje de la Luna may have been Tinajas del Tule, a well-known tank on the Sonóita trail, although judged by distances given in the diaries it is too far west. (See *post*, pages 311-320). La Tinaja del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta as located by Lumholtz is out of the question, although Aguaje de la Luna might be the tank of that name as shown on the Boundary Commission map. Eldredge's assumption that Anza's Agua Escondida was Kino's Aguaje de la Luna seems untenable, the former probably being in the Sierra Pinta. The error may have arisen from placing Los Pozos de en Medio west of Gila Range, when all the diaries of the Anza expedition distinctly say that they were at the last camp before entering the pass (Tinajas Altas Pass). Richman (*op. cit.*, map) places Anza's Agua Escondida east of La Purificación, which is quite contrary to the explicit words of the diaries.

watering-place of El Carrizal, of the Arroyo de San Marcelo del Sonoydag. I said mass, we breakfasted, and after eating dinner we took a very good siesta; and after eight leagues' journey farther we arrived at eight o'clock at night at the rancheria and ranch of San Marzelo, having been given good refreshments by the people of another rancheria which was on the way and to whom we spoke the word of God. They gave us three sick adults to baptize, who were called Ygnacio, Francisco Xavier, and Francisco de Borja. The fiscal and principal personage of this rancheria came with us to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, almost one hundred leagues' journey.

The people of San Marcelo del Sonoydag, their governor, and many others, came out more than three leagues to meet us, with arches and crosses erected and with a house or arbor prepared, with plentiful supplies and meat, and wheat, maize, beans, and calabashes, for there are crops of all these for the father whom they are asking for and hoping to receive. We found here our people and servants with the relay which on the twentieth of the past month we had sent from La Concepcion del Cabotca, who had come fifty leagues to meet us at the summons which we had sent them from San Ambrosio del Busanic.

This post and rancheria of San Marcelo is the best there is on this coast. It has fertile land, with irrigation ditches for good crops, water which runs all the year, good pasture for cattle, and everything necessary for a good settlement, for it has very near here more than a thousand souls, and many more in its environs, while there is a notable lack of water on the rest of this coast, which extends fifty leagues south to La Concepcion del Cabotca, fifty leagues north to the Rio Grande, fifty leagues east to the valley of San Xavier del Baac, and fifty or more leagues west to the confines of the Quiquimas and the mouth of the Rio Colorado.

13. On the thirteenth we rested at San Marzelo. We received a holy cross which the captain of La Encarnacion of the Rio Grande and Casa Grande sent me, with very kind messages, from a distance of more than seventy leagues. We catechized the people, and they gave us four sick adults and four infants to baptize. We counted the cattle, finding about fifty head, and killed one fat beef. The overseer of this ranch and the alcalde and the fiscal of this ranchería of San Marcelo made plans to go and did go with us to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER XI. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARZELO, AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY LEAGUES WE ARRIVE AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION DEL CABOTCA, AND AFTER FIFTY MORE AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

OCTOBER 14, 1700. On the fourteenth of October, setting out for San Luys Bertrando de Bacapa, after a journey of six leagues there came out to meet us many natives with many of their viands and many very good *pitajayas*, which on this coast are abundant and last until December. After six leagues' journey farther we arrived at San Luys Bertrando, where we were welcomed by about one hundred and fifty persons, with many of their viands and *pitajayas*, and we spoke the Word of God to them all.

15. Having invited these people to come to the pueblos, the most arable pieces of land, and the rivers, to live, we set out for San Eduardo del Baipia, and after a journey of twenty leagues we arrived at nightfall; there received us, with crosses placed in the roads,

with a house or arbor and prepared viands, more than twelve hundred persons, who had assembled from the neighborhood, with many justices who had come from various places, among them the captain of La Concepcion del Cabotca and other governors and the foreman of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, who had come to meet us with some relay pack-horses and with bread and other refreshments.

16. On the sixteenth, after travelling sixteen leagues, we arrived at La Concepcion del Cabotca, where we were received with all kindness and with an abundance of provisions, for there were wheat, maize, large and small stock, about one hundred head of each sort, an earth-roofed adobe house, and a little church which the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta had built. Of the many who came forth more than a league to meet us and receive us, one greeted us with these words: "Blessed and exalted be the most holy sacrament of the altar and the immaculate conception of most holy Mary," which among new people was a source of great pleasure and of some wonder to us.

17. On the seventeenth, having spoken to them the Word of God, and baptized infants which they gave us, including a son of the captain of this nation, we set out for El Tubutama which, after more than twenty leagues we reached that night by moonlight, having passed by the rancherias of San Diego del Pitquin and San Antonio del Uquitoa, where also there were wheat and maize for the father, and through that of El Addibuto. In El Tubutama there were more than two hundred persons, a little church and a house of adobe and earth, and at the ringing of their bell they recited the prayers and the Christian doctrine, as in the pueblos of Sonora. They had here about fifty head of cattle, about one hundred head of sheep and goats, and every

year they plant wheat, maize, and beans for the father whom they were hoping to receive.

18. On the eighteenth, after a seventeen leagues' journey, we arrived at the pueblo of San Ygnacio, having passed through that of Santa Maria Madalena, which, with the pueblo higher up, namely that of San Joseph de Hymeres, are in charge of Father Agustin de Campos; and although his Reverence was somewhat indisposed from tertian ague, he received us with all kindness.

19. On the nineteenth, passing through San Joseph de Hymeres and Babasaqui, after nine leagues' journey I arrived at my pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, where I found that they had just finished roofing two very good lodges with very good rafters and boards of pine. We rested here this afternoon.

20. On the twentieth we arrived, thanks to his divine Majesty, in safety at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, having travelled in going and returning three hundred and eighty-four leagues in twenty-six days, without our pack-animals becoming weary and without any mishap, which we attributed to the celestial favors of our Lord, having happily caught sight of California and the passage to it by land, having solemnized forty-two baptisms, and discovered four other new nations and the great Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte. And we reported this news to the lovers of new conversions as previously they had asked me to do.

CHAPTER XII. LETTERS WHICH THE FATHERS OF THE COMPANY, AS WELL AS OTHERS, SECULAR GENTLEMEN, WRITE ME, HAVING HEARD THE NEWS OF THE ABOVE-RELATED EXPEDITION AND DISCOVERY

THE FATHER VISITOR. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, on October 9 wrote me the following letter:

> I am greatly rejoiced over the return of your Reverence from your journey, which the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, had written me to ask your Reverence about, because of the importance of the certainty of its being mainland. Very good news also is that of the Rio Colorado and of the other nations. *Operarii autem pauci*,[382] that is the pity of it. For God now offers so great a harvest in so great a field. May he recompense your Reverence for such toil in discovering so many sheep, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, but separated from His fold.

THE FATHER RECTOR OF THIS MISSION. The father rector of this mission of San Francisco Xavier, Adamo Gilg, writes thus:

> A hearty welcome to your Reverence from your long apostolic excursion, which the father rector Juan Maria Salvatierra asked of us. It is now well established that the Sea of California does not reach to thirty-four degrees of latitude.

To the father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, I sent, together with these reports, some of the blue shells which they had given me the year before, in February, on the Rio Colorado, and which caused me to infer that this land route must exist because I had seen shells of the same kind on the opposite coast in the year 1685, when in company with the Admiral Don Ysydro de Attondo y Antillon.[383]

THE FATHER RECTOR OF MATAPE. The father rector answered me thus:

> I esteem the blue shells above my eyes, and especially the

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[382] "But the laborers are few" (*Luke*, x, 2).

[383] See the "Index."

> large one, which truly is a rare piece. May your Reverence live a thousand years. Yesterday the father rector Juan Maria Salvatierra sent me four shells from the opposite coast, and these are neither more nor less than of the same sort and source.

THE SEÑOR MILITARY COMMANDER. The Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzatt, who always had strongly urged these expeditions in the service of God and the king, and for them had already in four other distinct letters given me thanks in the name of his royal Majesty, on this occasion also wrote me a very kind letter full of comfort and congratulations, etc.

GENERAL JUAN FERNANDEZ DE LA FUENTE. General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, captain of the presidio of Janos and alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, wrote me the following:

> At a time when evil rumors were current, spread by some ill disposed persons (who for that reason are not credited, and who dream of revolts not intended, which often arise from our announcing them and talking about them, the natives having no such intention) with great rejoicing and appreciation on my part I just received the very much esteemed letter of your Reverence, by which I see all that has been done by your Reverence in the service of God and the king, which for me has certainly been most delightful news. Our very reverend fathers, Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Francisco Maria Piccolo, and all the other pioneers, have greatly rejoiced, and I should be greatly delighted if your Reverence and I could see each other, that face to face and mouth to mouth we might confer upon all that might be to your pleasure and of service to God and the King, and to all. In all such matters as may arise, I shall subject myself, and sacrifice my life and estate, for in doing the service of God and the King and the common weal we may promise ourselves eternal salvation, which is all that we can desire.

Thus far General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente.

CHAPTER XIII. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, TO WHOM IN THE MONTHS PRECEDING I HAD WRITTEN OF THE VERY GREAT PROBABILITY OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

Two days after I had returned from the above-mentioned expedition to the Rio Colorado and the land route to California, I received a long letter from the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, dated Loreto Concho, California, August 25, of this year of 1700. In it his Reverence, among other things, writes to me the following:

> I received here in Loreto, all at one time, the letters of your Reverence written in Matape and other places, and they were a great comfort to me. We have rejoiced to know the almost certainty that this land is a part of the continent and joins New Spain; and the only thing lacking is to know in what latitude this gulf ends, which we are all hoping your Reverence will write us after the rains, for next year, if they succor us, it will not be difficult to compass the one hundred leagues, even though they be one hundred and fifty, so as to meet. We are in great want, what with having had no supplies from Mexico in fourteen months, and altogether lacking in the matter of goods, chocolate, tobacco, etc., which can not be otherwise than the result of some other great disaster to a bark or barks. God's will be done in everything, for I hope the gates of hell will not prevail against the great little house of Loreto. And it has an important bearing upon the case to know the way by land to where this sea heads, so as to be able to secure aid overland in an emergency, such as may happen to us in case of complete destruction of the shipping, etc.
>
> In regard to the gift of the cattle and their transportation to Hiaqui, again I express to your Reverence my appreciation of the abundant charity thereof, for your Reverence's part in it, and also for what you did with the other fathers. Accept, your Reverence, warm greetings from Father Francisco Maria Piccolo, and from all the people of this Loreto, who have rejoiced

in the hopes of the continental connection and who anxiously await the last news.

Thus far the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, just after these reports had been obtained, and as I was actually writing to his Reverence, with the diary of all the above-mentioned expedition, which I sent to his Reverence in California. In view of its contents his Reverence came afterward in person from Nuestra Señora de Loreto, in California, to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of this Pimeria, to make an expedition to the land passage to California, in the month of February of the following year, 1701, as is stated in Book II, following.

CHAPTER XIV. ABOUT SEVEN HUNDRED BEEVES AND OTHER CATTLE ARE COLLECTED AND HERDED IN THESE MISSIONS OF SONORA, AND TAKEN TO MATAPE AND HYAQUI FOR CALIFORNIA

1700. On the occasion of Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra's having come from California to Cinaloa and to Aome, in February and March of this year, 1700, for the cleaning, careening, and equipment of the ship *San Firmin*, the question came up of the gift of cattle which these missions of Sonora were to give to California; and afterward the greater part of these cattle were given at the most opportune time, which was in October and November, at branding time. And his Reverence wrote me from Cinaloa the two following letters, the first, of May 9, being of this tenor:

> On Wednesday I shall take the road for Onabas, and if I am not prevented by my health, or some sudden call from Loreto, California, I shall go on to Matape on the twenty-second of this month. And because of the hope of happily seeing your Reverence there, I do not answer the points, so loving, of your letter,

> which have caused my heart to swell. I have just received a letter from the father rector of Matape, in which he advises me that he has already received the ten loads of provisions which your Reverence sends for the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, of California, for which I thank your Reverence, and which I esteem above my eyes. And I thank your Reverence for the three hundred beeves which you offer for California.

And on May 21, among other points in a long letter, his Reverence wrote me the following:

> I thought to be able to reach Matape, but the heat of the sun, the development of an eye trouble by the natives, the sudden return of the launch from California, and the necessity of my presence, as well for the sake of the careening as of going on her, because the people on the other side are alone and numerous, the conjunction of these reasons has forced me to return from here. I greatly regret the ill-fortune of not having been able to see your Reverence. In reference to the three hundred beeves which your Reverence wishes to give to California, I am afraid that they will occasion want or damage in the missions of the Pimas, for, as I have heard, your Reverence is asking for new fathers to place in the Pimeria, and so for the present let me say that your Reverence may keep one hundred for the Pimeria, but the two hundred I need immediately for California, delivered in the port of Hyaqui, which the father provincial has assigned to me for cattle, and which is near Loreto Concho, of California, a Christendom in which we have set foot, which is already established, and which is being fostered, conserved, and advanced. It has cost sweat, and blood, and great treasure, and through the patronage of most holy Mary the gospel is being spread from sea to sea, the rancherías intervening being now subdued from coast to coast.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra. In virtue of this letter, although some urged the difficulty of the heat, and others other occupations, I entered at once upon the work of transporting to Matape, Tecoripa, and Hyaqui, the two hundred cattle which this mission of Nuestra Señora de los [Dolores] was giving to California; and I accompanied them, and in person helped them to Tuape in June.

Afterward, in November, on my return from my expedition at branding time, the other districts gave a goodly number of cattle; for I went to Matape, a fifty leagues' journey, to send them to the new ranch of Hyaqui, that from that ranch the fathers of California might obtain the meat, tallow, and lard that might be needed, sending the cattle alive to California, also, as might be needed and as occasion should demand. The district of Oposura gave one hundred, and a thousand head of sheep and goats, which were bought in Hyaqui in exchange for cattle. The district of Ures gave ten beeves more, and the district of Cucurpe one hundred; the district of Matape gave sixty, besides some horses; the district of Guepaca seventy, the district of Arispe fifty, and the other missions other numbers. And with this we ended the year 1700.

BOOK II. EXPEDITION OR MISSION WITH THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, TO THE HEAD OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, AT THIRTY-ONE DEGREES OF LATITUDE; HOSTILITIES OF THE APACHES ON THESE FRONTIERS OF SONORA. GOOD STATE OF THE NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS EXTENSIVE PIMERIA AND OF ITS NEIGHBORING NATIONS

CHAPTER I. THE COMING OF THE FATHER RECTOR JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM THE MISSION OF NUESTRA SENORA DE LORETO, CALIFORNIA, TO THESE MISSIONS OF HYAQUI, SONORA, AND OF THIS PIMERIA, TO GO BY LAND TO SAID CALIFORNIA

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1701. The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and I, having continually exchanged letters with a view to possible discoveries and to the advancement of these spiritual and temporal conquests and new conversions of California, and of its neighboring new lands and nations, and having made reports of those of this Pimeria here (which, like the missions, old and new, of Chinipas, of Cinaloa, and of Sonora, owe so much to the apostolic holy care of his Reverence, for he has been their most vigilant, very zealous, and indefatigable father visitor), he came in January and February of this year 1701, by sea, from California to these missions of Hyaqui and Sonora, and of this Pimeria, with firm and well founded hopes of returning by land in latitude thirty-one or thirty-two degrees to his mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho, where his Reverence left as vice-rector Father Francisco Maria Picolo, and as commander and captain of the soldiers, Captain Antonio de Mendosa y Garzia, and the barks and crews in charge of their commanders for the careening and the voyages which might be necessary.

From Tecoripa and Matape and other places his Reverence had written me numerous different letters in regard to the things – provisions, pack-animals, and cattle – which we should need for this new expedition to the land passage to California, and perhaps to California itself, and far inland, or even to Loreto Concho. And, therefore, both here within this Pimeria and outside it, in the other neighboring missions, provision was made of all necessaries in the way of servants, flour, biscuit, meat, pack-animals, etc. And lest there should be some resistance or difficulty in the passage by land to California, or in California itself, in descending from thirty-two degrees,[334] where the above-mentioned passage is, to twenty-six degrees, where the mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho is situated, the father rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra determined to take some soldiers for the journey. To that end his Reverence went to the Real de San Juan to see the Señor military commander, Don Domingo Jyronza Petris de Cruzatt, and with ease he obtained from his lordship ten[335] soldiers with their commander, while from the other citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the Valle de

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[334] See page 265, where he says thirty-one degrees. The figures 1, 2, and 4, in early Spanish manuscripts, are easily confused, a fact which may explain Kino's apparent inconsistency in his latitudes.

[335] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 97) says that Salvatierra secured Manje, four soldiers, and eight citizens.

Sonora, and from the missionary fathers of the old missions, he acquired the necessary supply of good servants, muleteers, and pack and saddle mules. With that from without and from this Pimeria more than forty loads of provisions and other things necessary were collected, and were carried upon this expedition.

CHAPTER II. THE COMING OF THE HOSTILE APACHES TO THESE FRONTIERS OF SONORA, WITH SO MANY HOSTILITIES, ROBBERIES, AND MURDERS, THAT IT SEEMED THAT IT WAS GOING TO PREVENT OUR EXPEDITION TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

At this same time, in January and February, the Apaches came in, for their accustomed annual robberies; and after stealing horses, etc., in various places, in the ranch of Cucurpe, very near here, they did the serious damage of which Father Melchor Bartyromo wrote me in the letter following, dated at Cucurpe, February 1:

> 1701. For lack of paper I did not write to your Reverence from Saracachi, where the enemy, more than two hundred Indians, made an attack on Sunday long after sunrise, killing six persons, and wounding seven, of whom three are in danger. They sacked all the houses except mine and the overseer's, where the other people were saved, and carried off horses and mares, we know not how many, and all the sheep and goats. I have sorrowed only for the death of so many innocents, not for the temporal matters. Commend us to the Lord, your Reverence, in your holy sacrifices, to which I commend myself. Cucurpe, Feb. 1.
>
> P.S. Be on your guard, your Reverence, because it may be that the enemy are still lurking about here, for they were many.
> P.S. Now, at dawn, February 2, day of the Virgin, German has come to inform me that they overtook the enemy and took the stolen horses away from them.

Thus far Father Bartyromo.

The great misfortune through these deaths so pitiful, greatly dismayed all the province, and it seemed that it was going to hinder our journey to the land passage to California. But the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, wrote me from Tuape the following letters, one of the tenth, the other of the fourteenth of February. The one of the tenth runs thus:

> FEBRUARY 10 AND 14. When I was on the point of writing and dispatching a letter to your Reverence, Father Melchor told me he had received one from your Reverence containing the good news that Alférez Escalante had taken all the horses from the enemy, and so I detain the bearer a little while to give your Reverence congratulations for this victory. And, because your Reverence was occupied in giving mules and horses in honor of the Madonna of Loreto, and succor for her California mission, the Lady has looked upon all the benefactors. Long live Jesus! Long live Mary! I have received your Reverence's letter with the salutations of the beloved Pima children, to whom I beg your Reverence to return my greetings; for I will rejoice to embrace them. Tomorrow or the day after I go to Cucurpe, and, in order not to detain the bearer, I say no more.

The second letter, of the fourteenth, runs thus:

> This war of Saracachi has done us a very ill turn. But there is no reason to lose courage. I suppose that your Reverence is very busy with the provisions, for the want of provisions alone can make us turn back, but I am resolved on the contrary, since from this knowledge of lands will come great good for the missions of Loreto Conchó. It will be necessary that all your Reverence's mules go from Los Dolores loaded; some ten or twelve loads of flour, some two loads of *pinole*, and two loads of biscuit. And it is necessary that all the tierces be of six *arrobas*, which, as they proceed, will be continually lessened. As to dried meat, perhaps it would be well to take a couple of loads, so as not to have to be troubled with having to kill as soon as one arrives at the places even where there are live animals to kill.
>
> I am stopping here these two days, for thus I shall see to preparing the few beasts that I take, for, on ascending higher, it will be necessary to shut them up at night, and they will suffer much. And for my part, the reconnoissance of this land is of

> such importance that if necessary I shall stop here until the rains, in the accomplishment of this purpose. And so for the love of God I beg your Reverence to provide supplies, for I am resolved on my part not to turn back for want of them; and therefore I pray your Reverence to advise me of all, and in particular of what your Reverence has already provided of the kinds above mentioned. I return the greetings of your Reverence's children, the Californians who come with me, fruits of the toils and zeal of your Reverence.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

CHAPTER III. THESE HOSTILITIES OF THE APACHES ARE ATTRIBUTED, ALTHOUGH VERY FALSELY, TO THE PIMAS; AND THE INNOCENCE OF THIS PIMERIA IS CLEARLY SHOWN AND DECLARED

In regard to these above mentioned murders, robberies, and hostilities, there were so many controversies and such perverse and hostile opinions that the friendships of principal persons of this province were impaired and broken, many attributing those evils to the always hostile Hojomes, Janos, Sumas, and Apaches, while others perforce laid them upon the Pimas of this Pimeria, and attested reports, although false, were made. But our Lord made clear the truth in many ways, and forthwith the two following letters from those who pursued the enemy and took from them a great part of the booty which they carried, very clearly indicated it to me. One, dated February 13, is from Captain Pedro de Peralta, lieutenant of those frontiers, and is as follows:

> My Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Reward! Reward! Reward! The hostile Indians who attacked Saracachi, on their return passed by this Real de Bacanuchi and took from the corral of Simon Romo a drove of mares and other beasts. It was

> reported to the presidio of Fronteras, and Alférez Escalante set out with fifteen men, while ten went from here. Near Chiguicahui they overtook thirty-six enemies, and recovered the animals from them; and they saw clearly and distinctly that they were Apaches. They recovered *tecomates*[356] and other spoils which they had stolen in Saracachi. The enemy fled to the sierra and they could not be followed for lack of horses. Thus, they are not Pimas, as has been imagined; and so I do not lose my reward, but I would give it gladly for the great love I bear the Pimas. Yesterday, February 12, the soldiers arrived with the horses, very much pleased at having discovered that the murderers and robbers are Apaches and Hojomes, etc.

Thus far Captain Peralta. And Captain Christoval Granillo de Salazar, also on the thirteenth of February, from the Real de Bacanuchi wrote the following:

> A matter of great rejoicing for me was the receipt of a letter from your Reverence, for I have very greatly desired to have news of the friendly Pimas, because of the great confusion in which the rumors have kept us, and which are no sooner believed than they are circumstantially disproved. Now our Lord hath willed that the identity of those who attacked Saracachi should be known. Yesterday, the twelfth instant, arrived my brother Simon and the soldiers who went in pursuit of them, with the Señor Alférez Juan de Escalante, who overtook them in the little sierra beyond San Joseph, about twelve leagues from Chiguicahui, where they recovered the horses which were taken from this valley. By their dress and their arms all the soldiers recognized them to be Apaches, and they saw them about an arquebus-shot away. They could not kill them, because they lacked animals, and because the country was bad. I do not ask reward because my godfather, Captain Peralta, has already asked it, but I shall not lose it.

Thus far Captain Christoval Granillo de Salazar.

Another event, although sad in a way, clearly revealed the innocence of this Pimeria. Because, on the eighteenth of February, notice having come that here, near the peak of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, in a deep and very rough valley, the enemy had stolen and secreted many horses, some Indians from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and some from Nuestra Señora de los Remedios set out to see to taking them away, and the governor of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios with two of his men, and the foreman of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with others of his men, fought to the death. And the Father Visitor Antonio Leal wrote me the letter following:

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[356] Gourd vessels.

> I give your Reverence warm condolence, entwined with hearty congratulations, for the death of the Pima children, for with their blood and with their lives well they have manifested to all the world that the malevolent and the malefactors are not the Pimas nor the Pimeria.

The same was said and written by various other persons, that is, that since the Pimas gave their lives to resist the robberies, the Pimas were not the ones who committed them, nor friends of such evils.

CHAPTER IV. THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, COMES TO THIS MISSION OR PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, AND WE UNDERTAKE THE EXPEDITION TO THE PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA. HIS REVERENCE SETS OUT WESTWARD FOR SAN YGNACIO AND AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY LEAGUES ARRIVES AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION[387]

About the twentieth of February Father Juan Maria Salvatierra with ten soldiers and his native Californians, etc., arrived from Cucurpe at this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. We talked with pleasure of everything concerning the expedition to this land passage to California, especially on account of the blue shells, because in these days the father rector of Matape had written me the following letter:

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[387] For Salvatierra's journey with Kino, see Manje, *op. cit.*, 96-110; Salvatierra to Arteaga, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, Cuarta Sérié, tomo v, 126-154; Salvatierra to González in Venegas *Noticia*, vol. ii, 101-102.

> Very greatly has the father rector, Juan de Salvatierra, rejoiced to see the blue shells, in particular the large one with which your Reverence favored me, and the two balls and the belt;[358] and his Reverence no longer doubts that this land has continental connection with that of California.

Having arranged that this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores should give for the journey to the passage twenty loads of provisions–flour, dried meat, bissuit, etc.–and eighty sumpters, most of them mules, the father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra, on the twenty-fifth of February set out westward from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for the pueblo of San Ygnacio, with two soldiers, for he had made the rest return to Saracachi, on account of a rumor of enemies that arose.[359] His Reverence carried from here for the journey the picture of Our Lady of Loreto, well painted by the hand of Juan Correa, which was a great comfort to us in all the journey. We placed her upon the altar when we said mass, the fathers taking charge of her personally, the one in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

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[358] *Texido de la faxa.*

[359] Manje was sent with the military escort from the Real de San Juan Bautista, capital of the province. Setting out on February 16, with eight citizens, he went to Cucurpe, where he joined Father Salvatierra, who was preparing supplies given for the journey by Father Melchor Bartiromo. The departure for Dolores was delayed by an attack of three hundred Apaches on Zaracachi, whence they stole two hundred animals. Manje set out on the trail and found that the Apaches had killed five Pimas near Los Remedios. Escalante also set out, from the presidio, with twenty soldiers, calling the Pimas to aid, but failed to overtake the enemy. At Dolores, Manje was joined by Ayudante Nicolás de Bohorqués and three soldiers, making twelve men in the escort, besides Manje. Manje's account conflicts slightly with this one (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 97-98). See also Salvatierra's account, *op. cit.*, 129-134.

At San Ygnacio, which is ten leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and where Father Agustin de Campos was, the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra provided himself with some supplies, and with some more pack-animals; and as I, with the solicitude in which the enemy kept us, was detained a little longer, his Reverence wrote me the letter following on the twenty-sixth of February:

> What with the many gifts which your Reverence has made me, I was able to come but slowly to this district of San Ygnacio. May God recompense your Reverence for the great charity which you dispense even to one who so little merits it. Arrived here, I received the packet which your Reverence despatched to me; and news now comes that shortly a new viceroy and archbishop will arrive. It has troubled me to know that the enemy untied a horse at Tuape; and the poor Father Melchor[380] would suppose that the soldiers were at Los Dolores, while it was impossible that the two soldiers should arrive tonight at Tuape. God grant that it be not a serious affair; yet if it be so, your Reverence has the matter before you, and at all events, whatever your Reverence may decide will be the best considered, you being so experienced and old.

Thus far Father Juan Maria. In view of this letter I determined to cast a glance at my three pueblos and order them fortified, on account of such dangers of enemies as existed. Meanwhile the eight soldiers returned from Saracachi to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with their leader, Nicholas Bohorgues, and with Captain Juan Mateo Manje, nephew of the Señor governor of arms, who two days afterward went to overtake the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra at San Ygnacio.[381] From there his Reverence continued his westward route toward the sea of California, and toward La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Cabotca, through Tubutama, Addi, San Antonio del Uquitoa, and San Diego del Pitquin, where his Reverence with his great charity and holy zeal solemnized twenty-six baptisms of sick persons and infants that the natives gave him; and after about fifty leagues' journey from Los Dolores he arrived with his people and with the forty loads of provisions at La Concepcion safely and quickly.

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[380] Father Melchor Bartiromo, of Cucurpe.

[381] Manje overtook Salvatierra at San Ignacio, and accompanied him to Caborca, where Kino overtook them. An account of the journey of Salvatierra and Manje is given by Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 98-99. See also Salvatierra's account, *op. cit.*, 136-139. On the twenty-eighth they

CHAPTER V. MY DEPARTURE FROM NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, TO OVERTAKE FATHER RECTOR JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, DRAWN FROM THE DIARY OF THIS JOURNEY TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

MARCH 1, 1701. On March 1, 1701, I set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in a northerly direction with nine servants and one servant of the Señor military commander, and went to cast a glance at my other two pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospora, because they were frontiers to the enemy, to provide for their defence by means of some towers[382] and an expedition of Pimas to the eastern lands through which the hostile Hojomes[383] and Apaches are accustomed to travel and to penetrate.

2. On March 2, having given ashes at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, I went on to give them in the pueblo of Cocospera, where I found two captains of this Pimeria, one named El Coro and the other named El Tarabilla,[384] who had just spied the enemy. They

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set out, passing Magdalena, Tubutama, Ati, Uquitoa, and Pitquin, reaching Caborca on March 6 (Manje, *op. cit.*, 98-99).

[382] *Toriones.*

[383] Jocomes.

[384] "The Prattler."

reported that they had seen their smokes, and that they were not more than two days' journey away from the Pimeria, to the eastward. They offered to go soon with a goodly number of Pimas of this immediate district and of the Sobayporis of the north to fight against the said hostile Hojomes and Apaches, and for this purpose I ordered provisions of meat, maize, and wheat given to them and to the soldiers, four of whom had come to Cocospera, leaving thirteen others in Bacanuchi; and these Pimas afterwards had the good fortune which I shall relate at the end of this diary.

3. On the third the four soldiers, having confessed, set out for Bacanuchi to join the other thirteen again; and I set out for the west and for Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, following the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra; and after fifteen leagues' journey I arrived after nightfall at the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda.[388]

4. On the fourth they gave me three infants to baptize; I provided myself with twenty other good pack-animals; seven droves of mares were branded; and I left orders for branding immediately afterwards the thousand head of cattle contained in this ranch, which I have dedicated to the aid of the new conversions which may be founded.

5. On the fifth, after a thirteen leagues' journey, I arrived near the ranchería named Aquimuri.

6. On the sixth, after going three leagues I arrived in time to say mass at San Ambrosio del Busanic, where I found more than five hundred persons who had assembled, and after mass they gave me five infants and a sick adult to baptize. We learned that Father Rector Juan Maria had passed through the neighboring

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[388] This is the first diary of an expedition by precisely this route.

pueblo of Tubutama. We killed one beef of the more than eighty which they were tending for me here, with four droves of mares; and as there was also wheat and maize here belonging to the Church, they had ground and provided for us four loads of flour for our journey.

7. On the seventh we set out for the pueblo of El Tubutama and for the ranchería of Addi, where we arrived after a fourteen leagues' journey. After the first three leagues, at El Saric, they gave me six infants to baptize, one afterwards on the journey at the ranch of El Tubutama, and one in El Saric[266] also, where they were tending for me of eighty head of small stock, wheat, maize, and beans, and where also they had provided for us some loads of flour for our journey.

8. On the eighth I set out from Addi, and, passing through the ranchería of San Antonio del Uquitoa, and through the incipient pueblo of San Diego del Pitquin, after an eighteen leagues' journey I arrived at nightfall at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, where, with the very great charity of Father Rector Juan Maria, I was received at the door of the little church, with the picture of Our Lady of Loreto on the altar, and by the soldiers, and by more than four hundred Indians placed in a line, very much as in the old Christian pueblos.

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[266] El Saric is apparently a mis-copy for Addii.

CHAPTER VI. HAVING PERFORMED THIRTY-THREE SOLEMN BAPTISMS AT LA CONCEPCION, AFTER GOING FIFTY LEAGUES ALONG THE COAST OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA WE ARRIVED AT THE RANCHERIA AND RANCH OF SAN MARZELO DEL SONOYDAG

MARCH 9, 1701. On the ninth of March, here at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I solemnly baptized thirty infants and three sick adults, whom for this purpose the very friendly natives of this very large new pueblo gave us.[387] During these three days we killed three fat beeves and three sheep of the very fat large and small stock which they were tending for me here. They were taking care for me also of a good field of wheat, and they had already cleared another piece of ground to plant maize for the church and for the father whom they were waiting for and desired to receive. In the afternoon the packtrain set out with forty loads of provisions and supplies. At nightfall came four Indians sent by the captain of San Rafael del Actun, by which we had to pass; and although it was forty leagues away, they came to meet and receive us with very friendly messages from the natives there.

10. On the tenth we set out along the coast toward the northwest, or between north and west, for San Eduardo del Baypia,[388] carrying with us the picture of Our Lady of Loreto; and, overtaking the pack-train,

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[387] Father Barrillas, now old, had ceased to live permanently at Caborca, but visited it from time to time (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 98-99).

[388] Anza in 1774 called the place "Baipia or Aribaipia, which the Indians indifferently call it, and which in our language means little wells" (*Diario*, entry for Jan. 23). Garcés on the same day noted within a league of the place three rancherias, the largest of which was Cuboitac (*Diario*). See also Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, 149-173) who went over the same old trail in 1909, and gave a good description of Arivaipia.

we arrived at sunset, being welcomed very kindly by more than three hundred Indians.

11. On the eleventh we all set out together with the pack-train for San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, and after traversing seventeen leagues of very level and pleasant road we arrived very late at night at a rather small water-hole and *batequi*, or small well. Various parts of this road were made so pleasant and beautiful by virtue of roses and flowers of different colors, that it seemed as if Nature had placed them there for the reception of Our Lady of Loreto.[369] Almost all day we were praying and chanting various prayers and praises of Our Lady in different languages – in Castilian, in Latin, in Italian, and also in the Californian language; for the six natives of California, four large and two small, whom the Father Rector Juan Maria had brought with him, were so well indoctrinated and instructed in everything that they sang the prayers, since the father rector had already arranged them for them in pretty couplets, in this Californian language; and we said with the Holy Psalmist, *Cantabiles mihi erant justificaciones tuas in coro peregrinaciones meæ.*[370]

12. On the twelfth, after a five leagues'[371] journey, we arrived at San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, where

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[369] Manje gives a very different impression of this day's journey. He gives the distance as fourteen leagues and says they spent the night without water, "as a result of which the animals were already beside themselves for thirst, for not since the morning of the day before had they drunk scarcely anything, for which reason nine fled from us that night, and there is no doubt that this was a day of the greatest difficulty, care, and affliction" (Manje, *op. cit.*, 100). He wrote, it is true, that next morning they found near by a well called *Sauracan* from which they scooped up handfuls of water for the perishing animals. Salvatierra gives other details, *op. cit.*, 140-141.

[370] "Thy justifications were the subject of my song in the place of my pilgrimage" (*Psalm*, cxviii, 54).

[371] Manje says six leagues. Citing Herrera, *Decada 4ª*, he opines that Bacapa was passed through by Coronado's army (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 101). He says that the distance of forty leagues from the sea corresponds with that given by Herrera.

there is very good water and good pasturage, and the very loyal natives of these environs brought us the ten pack-animals[372] which the night before had run away from us and been lost.

13. On the thirteenth the father rector, Juan Maria, preached in Castilian to the soldiers, and in the Pima language to the Pima natives. He went in person to the wood near-by to cut with an ax a large tree with which we set up a holy cross, the natives aiding us. We sent ahead word to San Marcelo to give notice of our coming, and back to bring the loads which yesterday had remained behind.

14. On the fourteenth, setting out from San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, after a twelve[373] leagues' journey we came before sunset to San Marcelo del Sonoydag, having taken our *siesta* near a good watering-place.

The natives of San Marcelo came out a league to meet us with a holy cross which they gave to the father rector, receiving us with arches and crosses erected on the roads, which they had cleared neatly, and with an arbor prepared, and giving us an account not only of the cattle here but also of the messages which some months before I had sent to the Quiquimas and other Indians at the mouth of the Rio Colorado and the passage to California, and of the friendly responses which they sent, expressing the desire that we should come to see them. Here at San Marcelo we found about two hundred persons including various justices, governors, and captains who had come to see us from different and even remote places; and to all of them was preached the Word of God, which was well received.[374]

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[372] Manje says that at Bacapa there were six permanent springs. The village contained eighty naked persons. The site was modern Quitovac. Anza writes, "It is one of the best of the Papaguería through having five springs of water. . . This Quitobac the Jesuit Fathers called San Luis de Bacapa, of which addition the inhabitants have no memory . . . but they do preserve the name of San Luis" (*Diario*, Jan. 26, 1774). Garcés went through the place in 1771, and was with Anza in 1774. See also Salvatierra, *op. cit.*, 142-143, and Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 170.

[373] Manje gives the distance as fifteen leagues.

15. On the fifteenth we rested in this good post of San Marcelo, which has very good and abundant pasturage and water running in the little river, than which there is no other within fifty leagues around. The cattle, which consisted of sixty-three head,[375] were rounded up; and we killed two beeves, which were very fat with much tallow and suet, and it was a great relief to all and a great comfort to the father rector that in a country so far inland we should find this refreshment. We received letters from San Ygnacio, Matape, Hyaqui, and in particular from Father Juan de Hugarte, who had just come from Mexico to go, as he did go, to California. His Reverence wrote that in an ancient itinerary which he was carrying with him, it was said that in these parts where we were penetrating, very populous and very rich missions could be formed, which afterwards could aid in maintaining other missions, less prosperous, in California.

CHAPTER VII. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO DEL SONOYDAG TO THE WESTWARD, AFTER A JOURNEY OF THIRTY-FIVE LEAGUES WE ARRIVE AT THE HEAD OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA IN THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATITUDE

MARCH 16, 1701. On the sixteenth of March, 1701, we set out westward for the Sea of California, following the little river of San Marcelo; and after travelling eight[376] leagues we arrived and halted at a canebrake with very good pasturage, water, and wood. As our convoys and guides went the alcalde of San Marcelo and a governor who knew very well the two languages, Pima and Quiquima, and who the year before, being sick, had been baptized by the name of Eusebio.

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[374] Manje tells of the rich soil here, and the fields of crops all under irrigation from the good arroyo and many springs.

[375] Manje says eighty head. While resting here messengers were sent to the villages living nearer the sea, to get guides to show them the water holes.

[376] Manje says ten leagues. The place where they stopped was called Comaquidan. From this point messengers were sent to the Indians living north of the Colorado (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 100).

17. On the seventeenth we rested in this good stopping-place of El Carrizal,[377] waiting together for the two fiscals from the sea whom we had summoned through the alcalde of San Marzelo,[378] to come as our guides in our expedition to the Quiquimas of California, for one of them had already gone in the preceding months with my message and some little gifts which I had sent him from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

18. On the eighteenth, these fiscals and guides having come with many people from the sea, and having given us the very good news that the Quiquimas were waiting for us anxiously and lovingly, and advising us that this more direct and shorter road to the westward was so sandy that the sumpters would travel with difficulty and be very poorly supplied with water and pasturage, it became doubtful whether we should make our journey of about sixty leagues by the west, or go up to the northwest, circling the very great sandy waste at the head of the Sea of California, and ascending to the Rio Grande and Rio Colorado by the circuit by which I had already come in other times in the preceding years, as has been told. It was determined that we should travel by the shortest road, and that leading most directly westward; and after a thirteen leagues' journey we came to the ranchería called Sucoybutobabia, where there were about two hundred souls.[379] When

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[377] Carrizal, the name of this place. Salvatierra calls it La Anunciata.

[378] Manje says they waited to give the messengers, mentioned above, time.

[379] Manje says that he opposed the decision to take this route but yielded

we had spoken to them the Word of God they gave us several persons to baptize, but we baptized only one little girl and a very old Indian woman who was probably about one hundred and twenty years of age. The water supply here as well as the pasturage was very short, and it cost us much toil, and the personal labor of both fathers, to deepen the wells to obtain the water that the men and we might drink. After nightfall about forty Indians from the sea came to see us and told us that about here there was nothing but two large tanks of rain-water shut in between the rocks of the large mountain near-by and the ancient volcano of Santa Clara.[380]

19. On the nineteenth we set out for the ranchería and watering-place, or great tank, of El Basoitutgan,[381] where there was good pasture also. We found about one hundred persons, and afterwards many other natives came, some with gifts; and we dispatched some little gifts to the Quiquimas.

20. On the twentieth, Palm Sunday, having said the two masses, with the benediction and distribution of branches (for in honor of this day and yesterday, when we arrived, we called this post San Joseph de Ramos),[382] we set out for the west; and after covering six

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to the opinion of the Fathers. He gives the direction as southwest over stony plains, and the distance as ten leagues. They camped in the bed of a dry arroyo called *Sicobuto bavia* (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 102).

[380] The Santa Clara Mountain was the present Sierra del Pinacate. In 1909-1910 Lumholtz made three trips from Quitovaquita and Carrizal to the district, over almost precisely the three routes opened by Kino, whose explorations in that region were unfortunately unknown to him. Most of the places mentioned by Kino can be identified by Lumholtz's excellent descriptions and map (*op. cit.*, chaps. 13-14).

[381] Manje gives this as Basotucan and gives the distance as eight leagues. The water was in two tanks where the horses drank, after twenty-four hours without it. The village was south of the Santa Clara mountain. Manje gives the number as fifty persons. See Tinaja del Cuervo, on Lumholtz's map. Salvatierra calls this place Ayodsudao, and the previous one Totonat.

[382] Ramos means "palms" or "branches." Domingo de Ramos is Palm Sunday.

leagues of road, although level, and along weathered rocks like slag[383] which long ago had been thrown out by this mountain or volcano of Santa Clara, which we passed on our right or to the north, we arrived at another tank of water shut in between rocks, with very little pasturage; and ascending with Captain Juan Mateo Manje to a neighboring little hill, we descried California very plainly, to the west and southwest, and afterwards the soldiers also and all the men sighted it.[384]

21. On the twenty-first we went westward eight leagues farther, leaving half the men and the loads in this camp. We traveled almost all this day along very sandy country and through very great sand-dunes, in which our pack-animals traveled with difficulty. The water supply which we found was three little springs of somewhat brackish water.[385] Almost all of us went down on foot to the very beach of the sea, which was little more than half a league away, whence the sailors, especially, carried away a great quantity of all kinds of pretty shells and snails. Afterwards the father rector summoned the muleteers, with the loads and the horses

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[383] *Temesquitate.* See Salvatierra's vivid description, *op. cit.*, 146.

[384] Manje describes the journey as eight leagues over "*mal Pais y Arcabucos y Zeborucos.*" They camped at El Tupo near a tank of rain water with the Santa Clara Mountain behind them. Manje describes the *temesquitate* of the last two days' march. He describes the volcanic features of the Santa Clara Mountain and tells of its ascent by Kino on a former occasion. It was nine leagues from the sea. See Tinaja de los Chivos on Lumholtz's map. See also Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 205, 228. Salvatierra calls this place Aibacusi and the next Duburcopota (*op. cit.*, 146-149).

[385] Manje gives the name of these springs as Cubo quasi vavia. They were two leagues from the sea on the flats. Manje says they were in latitude 32° and where the shore ran northwest, without any bay, although the maps called for the Bay of Santa Clara. Where they were the Gulf seemed about twelve leagues across, and it appeared to be about thirty-six leagues to the place where the Gulf seemed to head. The missionaries concluded that this was the fact but Manje was not convinced, and says "we had a friendly dispute." Manje and Kino planned to try to cover the distance to the Colorado in a day and a night, but they found it impossible for lack of water for the horses, and were forced to return, leaving nine horses on the beach (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 105).

which had stayed at the preceding camp, because with the three springs in this stopping-place there was sufficient good pasturage. But the following day we found that the waters of these three little springs had not welled up in so great a quantity as we had expected, although the necessary water did not fail us.

CHAPTER VIII. ON ACCOUNT OF FINDING A SAND-DUNE MORE THAN SIXTY LEAGUES AROUND, SITUATED AT THE HEAD OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, AND BECAUSE OUR PACK-ANIMALS WERE GROWING TIRED, WE RETURNED, HAVING TWICE SIGHTED CALIFORNIA

MARCH 22, 1701. On the twenty-second at midday I took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe and found that this gulf of California ended in thirty-one[386] degrees latitude. Already, by other journeys I have found that this Californian Gulf has at its head to the northward a stretch of sand-dunes so large that it is more than sixty leagues around, and it now became a hindrance to our passing farther by this route, although today, about two in the afternoon, our men and pack-train arrived with the loads from the preceding camp. This had been so without water that on the return it was necessary for us to travel until midnight to reach the camp of San Joseph de Ramos, and many of our pack-animals were tired out, while some loads remained on the road.

23. On the twenty-third we rested[387] while those loads were coming on.

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[386] Manje says that Santa Clara Mountain was near 32°.

[387] Kino and Manje differ here. Manje says they set out on the twenty-third and traveled all day and part of the night of the twenty-third to reach San Joseph de Ramos, eighteen leagues. Manje says they rested only on the twenty-fourth, instead of on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, as Kino says (Manje, 106). From here Father Salvatierra sent a letter to Picolo overland by Indians but it never reached him.

24. On the twenty-fourth, Holy Thursday, mass was said, and many natives of these environs came to see us, and also two governors from far inland whither I had penetrated the year before, who begged us to go in to their lands; but as our sumpters were already very much fatigued, we told them to come with us to San Marzelo, where we were going to rest for a week. These governors gave us even more detailed accounts of how in the preceding months my messages and gifts had penetrated to the Quiquimas, and how they were waiting for us with very friendly anxiety.

25. On the twenty-fifth, Good Friday and the Day of the Incarnation of our Lord, we came to El Carrizal[388] near San Marzelo. Our pack-animals had become very tired on this road, but they were reinvigorated, however, with the good pasturage of this post. Many natives from various parts came to see us.

26. On the twenty-sixth we rested in this good camp. I took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe and found that we were in thirty-one degrees and ten minutes. We made an arbor in which to celebrate Easter.[389]

27. On the twenty-seventh, Easter, the soldiers and the other people confessed and received communion, and the father rector preached to them. We made a little sketch of this extremity of the sea of California.

28. We sent to the ranch of San Marzelo for a beef and fresh meat, which came the following day.

29. On the twenty-ninth many Indians of the east came to see us, and six of them agreed to go, and did go, with us on another new little journey to the westward, which the father rector and Captain Juan Mateo

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[388] The canebrake, *ante*, page 281.

[389] At Carrizal they awaited the pack train, which reached there two days behind, arriving on the twenty-seventh.

Manje and I made quickly with four servants from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in latitude thirty-one degrees and thirty-five minutes, to see whether by this route we might find an entry and a passage to the Quiquimas and quite beyond them and round the head of the sea of California.[390]

30. On the thirtieth we awaited our news from the west, which, however, did not come.

31. On the thirty-first the father rector, Captain Juan Mateo Manje, and I set out to the westward with the six Pima guides from the east, and with eighteen mules and three horses with six light loads. After traversing thirteen[391] leagues of level road we arrived an hour before sunset at the stopping-place and water-hole which they called Pitaqui, and which we afterwards called La Petaca.[392] From a little hill which we ascended, taking with us the picture of Our Lady of Loreto, we plainly sighted California and the great mountain range which they call Sierra del Mescal, and the other which they call Sierra Azul, as well as the closing in of both lands, this New Spain and California.[393] At nightfall some natives came to see us with their wives and little children, whom they gave us to baptize after having heard the Word of God, which we preached to them.

APRIL 1. On the first of April, we having sent an Indian to summon the rest of the people of that district, at ten o'clock he brought two squads of Yuma, Pima, and Cocomaricopa natives, with their governors, who for the most part were of those whom I had seen the year before at San Dionisio, about forty leagues farther to the north, at the confluence of the Rio Colorado and the Rio Grande; and they all told us that to go inland as we desired to the Quiquimas of California, there still lay before us thirty leagues, or three days' journey, of stretches of sand such that they had neither water nor pasturage, whereupon the father rector, Juan Maria, determined that we should return, but we planned that on another and more favorable occasion, after the rainy season and the hot weather, I should penetrate in higher latitude by way of the confluence of the rivers and by San Dionisio (as I did enter in November) to the said Quiquimas. And this afternoon we retraced half of the distance traversed the day before, contenting ourselves meanwhile with having seen so plainly the truth in regard to the land passage to California, for, with this journey and that which I made five months afterward to thirty-three and thirty-two degrees of latitude, not the least doubt remained, unless it were in the incorrect opinion of some disaffected persons.

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[390] Manje says they were caused to return by the guides telling of a watering place north of Santa Clara. Salvatierra adds interesting items, *op cit.*, 149-154.

[391] A journey of seventeen leagues (Manje), Pitaqui having been twenty-four leagues from San Marcelo.

[392] The sachel or trunk. A play on the word Pitaqui.

[393] Manje says fourteen leagues northwest to three tanks of rain water. They climbed another hill six leagues north of Santa Clara. Manje says they could determine nothing from where they were. The tank was clearly that now called Tinaja de los Papagoes. The peak was evidently Sierra Hornaday or the crater just south of it. See Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 232.

2. On the second we arrived at midday at El Carizal, and at night-fall at San Marcelo, where the adjutant and the soldiers were waiting for us with many natives, and with many letters from Sonora, and from various parts.

3. On the third Father Rector Juan Maria determined to return with the ten soldiers by way of La Concepcion del Cabotca, through which we had come, and I, because it was some time since I had seen the Pimeria of the north and its Sobayporis, determined to return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores by the north and San

Xavier del Baac. The question then arose as to whether the father rector or I should carry the beloved picture of Our Lady of Loreto, and although I should have been content to have the father rector carry that great consolation with him, his Reverence determined that we should draw lots by writing on two little papers "north" and "south"; and as on drawing the little papers the one for the "north" fell to me, to me fell the joy of carrying this great Lady of Loreto in the north of this Pimeria of the Sobaiporis, she being our North Star.

This afternoon the father rector set out with the ten soldiers on his southerly route. I remained for some small matters of business, and to await some replies from the interior and for the building of a little church, almost a chapel, of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, in which I was able to say mass on three days. Although my desire was to set out early the following day with Captain Juan Mateo Manje for San Xavier del Baac, so many runners came from the Quiquimas by day and by night that I had to wait three days. Thereby I left very solid and well-established peace-agreements between these Pimas and those Quiquimas, who promised that they would come to meet one another and to confer in a very friendly way and in great numbers at a halfway point, as was done, and that they would advise me of everything at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in order that by the Divine Grace I might penetrate to the Quiquimas in the following autumn.

4. On the fourth the twelve small beams were cut for the little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de San Marcelo and its altar was made. The fiscal whom I had sent with the runner of the night before came and brought us news that the governor whom the father rec-

tor had dispatched with messages to Loreto Concho was returning from the Quiquimas, and that he was bringing messages and gifts from the Yumas and Quiquimas.

5. Early on the fifth I dispatched another runner to meet and bring quickly the above mentioned governor. The first mass was said in the little new church with the picture of Our Lady of Loreto placed on the new altar. Orders were given to clear land to plant maize which in sufficient quantity the captain of El Comac had brought us from Tucubabia. At nightfall the governor came bringing the messages and presents from the Quiquimas, especially some blue shells from the opposite coast, saying that with very friendly anxiety they had been waiting for us, greatly desiring our friendship, in order to be converted to our holy faith, and being very much pleased with the messages and little gifts which we had sent them on different occasions, now from about here, from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in the preceding months, and from San Dionisio the past year. To reassure them I sent word that, God helping me, I would come the next autumn to see them; and I determined to set out the day following for the Sobayporis of the north.[394]

CHAPTER IX. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO, AFTER A FIFTY-THREE LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC OF THE SOBAIPORIS. THE KINDNESS AND GOOD CONDITION OF THE NATIVES

April 6, 1701. On the sixth of April, having left word that with the eight loads of provisions which had been left over to us from this expedition they should finish carefully roofing the little new church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and that the natives should plant very good fields for themselves also, I set out with Captain Juan Mateo Manje from San Marselo, by an eastward course, for San Raphael del Actum el Grande, whence in the afternoon we went on to the watering-place named Gubo.[395]

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[394] Manje omits nearly all the events of the three days spent at Sonóita.

7. On the seventh, after a five leagues' journey we arrived at the camp and ranchería of Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui,[396] whose natives welcomed, accompanied, and guided us lovingly. From here by a southerly road I dispatched to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores four servants, two muleteers, and two cowboys, with some mules of the pack-train and the most exhausted of the pack-animals; and with the sixteen best pack-animals, most of them mules, I continued my journey to San Xavier del Baac. Traveling twelve leagues farther for lack of a watering-place, after nightfall we arrived at San Serafin del Actum El Chico,[397] where not only for the people but also for our pack-animals they had to bring us water in pots from a water-hole at some distance. Today along the road they gave me five infants to baptize, among them two new-born twins who were somewhat weak.

Here we began to obtain some information in regard to the many Pimas, both Sobaiporis and non-Sobaiporis, who in the days preceding had gone out against the hostile Hojomes, Janos, and Apaches, as I related at the beginning of this account of this expedition, for because the Señor governor of El Parral had called a squadron of soldiers from this presidio of Sonora to the Taraumares, the other soldiers availed themselves of these Pimas against the enemies of this province.[398]

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[395] Thirteen leagues for the day. Manje does not mention San Rafael del Actum el Grande.

[396] From page 278 we learn that Batqui means "well." Manje says there was a tank at Vatqui.

[397] The Little, as distinguished from S. Rafael del Actum El Grande (the Large).

8. On the eighth, after a sixteen leagues' journey, passing by three other rancherías, we arrived at that of El Tupo, all these places also being very poorly supplied with water, although the natives had already planted their crops of maize, beans, and calabashes.[399]

9. On the ninth, after a ten leagues' journey, at two in the afternoon we arrived at San Xavier del Baac.[400] Some natives who were hunting and from afar saw us coming on our journey, left the chase and came to meet us and to welcome us with all friendliness and love. We found that a few days before the governor and the captain of this great ranchería or incipient pueblo of San Xavier del Baac had gone out with many other natives to war against the enemies of this province of Sonora, the Hojomes, Apaches, and Janos.

10. On the tenth we rested here at San Xavier, giving various Christian instruction to the many natives who were here. We saw the good field of wheat belonging to the church, the seventy head of sheep and goats, and the cattle which had remained (for more than two hundred had returned to San Luys on account of the neglect of the few cowboys, especially when they had gone to eat *pitajayas*). Much kindness was shown us by these very excellent natives. They gave us many of their provisions, many of their good fabrics and

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[398] Manje says they went eighteen leagues for the day, passing five rancherios after leaving Vatqui, and camped at Guactun. Here the Indians gave them red guacamaya feathers.

[399] Manje says eighteen leagues to Ranchería del Tups, where there was a good tank.

[400] Manje says twelve leagues to Bac. Here they learned that half of the men had gone with Escalante, at the call of Jironza, to avenge the death of the five Pimas.

blankets of cotton, numerous baskets, buck-skins, and red feathers of the many macaws which are raised here, etc. This afternoon came the news of the victory which these Pimas had won in their war against the enemy on the very day when Our Lady of Loreto entered into these their lands, as is told in the following chapter.[401]

CHAPTER X. SETTING OUT FROM SAN XAVIER DEL BAAC, AFTER TRAVELLING SIXTY LEAGUES SOUTH WE ARRIVE AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES; LETTERS FROM THE ROYAL JUSTICES AND MILITARY LEADERS WHICH WE RECEIVE ON THE WAY IN REGARD TO THE HAPPY VICTORY OF THESE PIMAS OVER THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

11. On the eleventh of April, taking our way toward the south, after an eighteen leagues' journey we arrived at San Cayetano.[402]

12. On the twelfth we came to San Luys, a ten leagues' journey, passing at midday by San Gabriel de Guebavi. In the ranch of San Luys we counted the three hundred and forty cattle that were there.[403] We found that the soldiers of the presidio who seven days before had passed by this ranch with the Indians of Cocospera and of these environs had taken to the war a few beeves and some of the sheep.

13. On the thirteenth we set out for Cocospera,[404]

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[401] Manje omits the events of this day. For the importance of the *pitajaya*, or *sahuaro* (*cereus giganteus*) to the Papagoes, see Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

[402] Manje gives the distance as twenty leagues. At San Cayetano they slept in the house of *adobe y terrado* which the natives had built for the minister they were awaiting.

[403] Manje says they counted four hundred cattle and two hundred sheep on the Guevavi ranch, and mentions the minister's house at San Luís de Bacoancos.

[404] Above San Luis they passed through four rancherias. Manje gives the distance as fourteen leagues. At Cocóspera the Indians were building a

and two days afterward for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,[405] for I had been detained by the following letter of the Señor alcalde mayor of this province, Don Ysidro Ruiz de Abechuco, who, with the citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the province of Sonora, also had made an expedition to the north against the enemy. His Honor on the fourteenth of April wrote me from Guebavi the following excellent letter:

> I have just arrived at this valley and pueblo of Guebavi, and I have learned through the Pima natives that your Reverence passed this way toward your home. Now I assure you that I have regretted not having come a day sooner that we might have the pleasure of seeing each other and I of speaking with all this Pima nation. For at present they are assembled, because they have just come back from having given the Apaches a good beating, as they tell me; and I observe that the victory which they have won is great, because there is no one who does not come with a scalp-lock and as joyful as I am at having found so suitable an occasion to welcome them all from the victory which they bring, and to see them as friendly as if we had been in communication with them all our lives. May God preserve them in peace, and by means of them may we secure in the province the quietude which it so much desired; and may it be for the service of God and the King.
>
> I have had information also that the journey which your Reverence has made in the company of the Very Reverend Father Juan Maria Salvatierra has been one of great satisfaction and pleasure, because the purpose which was desired, of dis-

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church and a house, according to Kino's orders. Two days were spent here to supervise and assist in the work.) Here they learned that the Pimas and soldiers had killed forty Apaches and captured twenty children in the last campaign, without loss to the Spaniards. All the braves bore Apache scalps and a scalp dance was held (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 109).

[405] On the sixteenth they went six leagues to Remedios, which was under Kino's administration. They found the house and church well along, and the house painted. The church when finished was to have three chapels and a beautiful transept, of the best in Sonora. On the same day they went eight leagues to Dolores, where they entered the temple to give thanks for the successful journey. On this journey four hundred new Indians had been registered (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 105-110).

covering a land route to California, has been accomplished. This news has been a source of very great pleasure to me; and therefore I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will inform me if it is true. I shall set out day after tomorrow from this valley, and I shall go by way of Cocospora,[406] with God's favor, toward Bacanuche, and so if anything occurs to your Reverence in which I can serve you, you may command me with the certainty of my good will. All the citizens and companions who come with me salute your Reverence and the very Reverend Father Juan Maria very heartily, and all greatly rejoice at the successful journey of your Reverence, in particular Captain Simon Rodrigues Soto and Captain Recalde, who also are with me in this valley and pueblo of Guebavi. But in order not to trouble your Reverence I say no more, nor do I enlarge on everything as I should wish. I set out with the citizens to follow after and to aid the Pimas, but as I could not arrive in time to fight with them against the Apaches, from Quiburi I returned to this valley to see and to speak with these natives, with whom I have been much pleased. All the natives salute your Reverence, and in particular the governor of the ranch, Eusevio, who said to me after this was closed that I should salute your Reverence and advise you that all are returning safe from their journey.[407]

Thus far General Ysidro Ruis de Abechuco. And immediately afterward comes the following letter from the commander of the soldiers, Juan Bautista de Escalante. It is as follow:

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[406] From Manje we learn that Ruiz de Abechuco, with his twenty men, overtook Kino and Salvatierra at Cocóspera (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110).

[407] Manje's last journey with the missionaries was the one made with Kino and Salvatierra. In the nine (I find only eight) recounted in his itineraries he and the fathers had travelled three thousand leagues, not counting four campaigns against the Indians, and others to the Pimería for other purposes. They had listed of the Pimas alone twelve thousand souls, and two thousand Yuma men corresponding to as many families. They had baptized in these pueblos seven hundred. In these seven years the Pimas killed six hundred and eighty enemies, not to count the captured children (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110-112).

Add to this the campaigns made by the fifty soldiers of the Compañía Volante in the first seven years during which Jironza founded and ruled it. More than thirty are noted in the book, autos of which were sent to the officials; not to mention monthly journeys to explore the frontiers and passes, recover stolen goods, or convoy merchant trains or passengers (*ibid.*, 112).

> MY DEAR SIR: The reason for my not having written these lines before, on the occasion of having come into those Pima lands, was a lack of paper. Nevertheless, being now upon this frontier, I do not wish to neglect to inform your Reverence how I went on the campaign which our beloved and loving Pimas made against the enemies of our holy faith, in which it has gone very well with us; for our friends, three hundred and thirty-two in number, set out with only the provisions which they could carry in their bags. They persevered in the campaign in great need and hunger, and succeeded in carrying out their intentions, as His Divine Majesty granted us also; for, after having marched some days we attacked a ranchería of Apaches, where seventeen of the enemy were killed, without any injury to us. We captured sixteen persons, of whom the Pimas are taking twelve and have sold us four, because I told them that whatever was captured should belong to the captor, in order to rouse in them a stronger desire to display valor. And such was the case, for they, being many, captured fourteen, and we two. This has been of great importance as a means of showing the opponents of this new nation the falsehood and the error in which they have been, unless it be that partisanship closes the eyes of their reason.
>
> But Divine Majesty, who always favors the truth, will open the understanding and the eyes of those who have kept them closed, by means of many another victory which I hope we shall win, with the aid of the Pimas, as I see them each day. And if there had been provisions we should have won not one good victory but many. But they agreed to make another campaign. For all this we ought to give thanks to God our Lord and also to your Reverence, for, it is through you and your very Christian zeal for the honor of God that we have such excellent friends as are our Pimas. And so on my part I thank your paternal Reverence and repeatedly for your good work in the service of God and the King, and my companions do the same.
>
> Now let me inform your Reverence that my departure from that frontier was so very sudden that we all set out without any

provisions for the campaign except a few tortillas in our saddlebags, for which reason necessity obliged me to kill at San Luys and at Guebavi two ewes and one wether. At the same time I ordered sent from said ranch of San Luys a few cattle to Sonoidag,[408] which was the rendezvous of the Indians. And having detained Captain Coro a day to kill two beeves, they asked me to give them some, too, for which reason I killed eight, two for myself and six for the Pimas, four cows and four horses, two large and two small.

I give this information in such detail in order that your Reverence may decide what seems best to you in the matter, for I am ready to do whatever your paternal Reverence may determine concerning the payment of the amount of all this. Indeed, besides repaying it, I thank you, for the great care of your Reverence in having so many ranches in different parts is of much assistance to us, as has been the case on this occasion. And so I await the response of your paternal Reverence, to whom may our Lord grant good health and a long life, that with your holy zeal you may give us many new friends for the defense of the holy Gospel. Presidio of Corodeguachi, April 13, 1701. Juan Bautista de Escalante kisses the hand of your Reverence.

CHAPTER XI. VARIOUS OTHER LETTERS FROM THE DIFFERENT MISSIONARY FATHERS, BOTH IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED JOURNEY TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND IN REGARD TO THE VICTORY OF THESE PIMAS OVER THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, having set out from San Marcelo by La Concepcíon del Cabotca and by San Ygnacio, and having arrived at Cucurpe, on the fourteenth of April wrote me the following:

Having arrived at this pueblo of Cucurpe in safety, thanks be to God and to His Most Holy Mother, I salute your Reverence heartily. It is necessary for me to set out for the neighborhood of our coast and harbor, for my ignorance of everything unsettles me. Father Melchor Bartiromo tells me that your Reverence arrived yesterday afternoon at Cocospera with Captain Juan Matheo Manje, and certainly I have rejoiced that your Reverence's journey has turned out well. The sumpters of your Reverence have all been delivered at Santa Maria Magdalena to the drivers of the pack train. Words fail me with which to thank your Reverence for so many and so great toils undertaken in the honor of the Madonna of Discovery. May she intercede with her most precious Son for the recompense of all. Thus I shall write to the father provincial and to the father visitor and to the rest.

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[408] Not the Sonóita near the Gulf, but another place by this name east of the Santa Cruz River and north of Guebavi. There was a third Sonóita south of Nogales.

On setting out from Cucurpe to return to California his Reverence wrote me the following:

I congratulate your Reverence on the victory of the Pima natives over the enemy, of which I hear, with my foot in the stirrup at Cucurpe, when about to set out in all haste to Yaqui to see if I can repair the many damages and relieve poor California, made helpless through the loss, as they say, of two barks which do not appear in any port. My beloved Father Eusevio, now it is time for your Reverence to aid us with a good consignment of flour, tallow, and suet, in skins, because I consider these poor people in great need. If your Reverence could send your pack-train to Matape with aid it would be of great importance at this time, and the father rector of Matape will send it promptly to Hyaqui for the sail-boats. And, so, if your Reverence can do it, I earnestly beseech you to write to the father rector of Matape telling how many loads you can send and when they can be in Matape, so that he may have ready everything which goes to Hyaqui. Your Reverence will pardon one molestation after another, for the occasion of so great a loss forces me to it. And, finally, I beg that you will not forget me in your prayers and holy sacrifices.

The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, having arrived in California, on the sixteenth of May wrote me the following from Loreto Concho:

I have received the news of your Reverence's return to your holy mission, and I have rejoiced at the good success of the Pima natives over the enemy and at the blue shells from the

> Quiquimas. Your Reverence has a thousand benedictions from all the fathers and seculars for your journey and for the discovery, from the hill, at a distance, of the joining of New California and New Spain. And much greater has been the rejoicing to know that your Reverence has the means and the desire to examine at close hand that which a distant vision might misrepresent. I have just received a recent letter from the father provincial, and in it I note that the California of your Reverence is California *efisienter*,[409] for your Reverence with your aid will bring it about that California will be California; and so, your Reverence, take courage with your aid, for the one who is *effisienter*[410] is this *Pater et Mater Californiorum Lauretanorum*.[411]

Thus far Father Rector Juan Maria; and in the same letter Father Francisco Maria Picolo adds the following:

> My beloved Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, I give your Reverence a thousand congratulations for the discovery, so much desired. May our Lord grant us the boon of seeing California carry on trade with New Spain by land, for the relief of these missions and for the good of so many souls. I shall rejoice if your Reverence's health be perfect, and may you live for many years to the glory of His Divine Majesty, etc.

The father visitor, Anttonio Leal, on the seventeenth of April wrote me thus:

> I have rejoiced greatly that your Reverence has now returned from your journey, which has been made with hopes so well-founded as to constitute certainty of the continuity of the land. God willing, on another occasion the rest shall be accomplished, and even if on this occasion nothing more had been accomplished than the peace-agreements of those nations the trouble would have been well worth while. God will repay your Reverence, as He is repaying you already, for soon came the rejoicing over the victory of the Pimas and the booty which they bring, which has caused very general jubilation. The father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra, is very grateful to your

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[409] "Indeed." In his letter to Arteaga Salvatierra gives data concerning his return to California (*op. cit.*, 154-156).

[410] "Efficient."

[411] "Father and mother of the California Lorettines."

> Reverence for the good which you have done him in everything. He asks me to thank your Reverence, as I do once and again.

Thus far the father visitor. The Father Rector Marcos de Loyola on the eighteenth of April wrote me the following:

> The father visitor has just communicated to me a letter of your Reverence, written from Cocospora to Father Bartyromo about the victory which the Pimas and the soldiers have won over the hostile Jocomes and Janos, news very welcome to all, and to me especially, for everything that your Reverence so many times has asserted in regard to the Pimas has proved so true that there can be no doubt that now the incredulous will believe what your Reverence has proved so conclusively. Also, he communicated to me the arrival of your Reverence from your journey, so extended, and the great good which your Reverences have done in those travels, and that you have succeeded in finding the way to California. I do not know how to signify to your Reverence how much I have rejoiced on account of this. Already I have written to the father visitor that the great success of the journey is due to your Reverence and to your many praiseworthy toils, for your Reverence, with your apostolic endeavor, has been the first to penetrate those unknown lands, and you are the one who is preparing those harvests, so that in their time they may be gathered in with much fruit. For all this a thousand thanks to your Reverence. I wish I were something in religion [412] so as to reward that which is so worthy of reward, but God is He who must do that.

Thus far Father Rector Marcos de Loyola. The Father Rector Manual Gonzales on the thirtieth of May wrote me the following:

> A thousand million congratulations I give to your Reverence; no longer are proofs necessary for your Pimería. A thousand more the Señor alcalde mayor will give if they are asked of him. *Vale, mi Pater amantissime, vale, vale, et laetare,* a thousand million times and for all eternity; *et ora pro me,* etc.[413]

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[412] *I.e.,* held an office.

[413] "Farewell, my most loving Father, farewell, a thousand million times and for all eternity, be of good cheer and pray for me."

Father Oracio Polise, who during the three years past was visitor of the missions of Sonora, who afterwards received from Rome the rectorate of San Luys Portoli,[414] and who has always been very sympathetic, loving, and a great encourager and promoter of the new conversions, wrote me another letter of like tenor, and of the things which were dictated to him by his great zeal for so many souls as there are in this North America, so extensive.

Father Geronimo Pistoya, who was visitor and rector of the College of Cinaloa, not only after the journey but also during it, on the eleventh of February wrote me this apostolic and holy consolation, as follows:

> I give your Reverence sincere thanks for the great work you have done in seeking out the scattered sheep, and those which are outside the fold of the holy Gospel. God will recompense your Reverence for it even in this life, and one of the compensations is the opposition which your Reverence has always met. I do not deny that it is grievous and bitter to human nature, but it is very glorious and sweet to the Divine.

Father Venzeslao Eumer,[415] visitor of the Taraumares, making known the great error of the English General Drake, who falsely delineated California for us as an island, apropos of what Father Rector Juan Maria wrote to the Taraumeres, on the fifth of September wrote me the following very learned and very fervent letter in Latin:[416]

> May the event be blest, happy and joyous, may it redound to

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[414] Evidently a mis-copy for San Luis Potosi.

[415] Stocklein (*Neue Welt-Bott*, theil ii, 85-86) prints a letter from P. Wenceslau Eymer, of Bohemia, to R. P. Joannem Walt, in Bohemia, written Jan. 8, 1696, from Papigotschyki, Tarahumara. For a sketch of Eymer see Huonder, *op. cit.*, 107.

[416] Instead of giving the Latin in the text as in case of other Latin passages, the translation is given here, the Latin being put in the note. The passage is as follows: "*Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit, et ad majorem*

the greater glory of God, to the honor of His Immaculate Mother, to the extension of Holy Church, to the spread of our orthodox faith, and to the salvation of souls that, under the auspices of the queen of Loreto, by the apostolic sweat, and untiring labor of Fathers Juan María and Francisco Eusebio, California has been happily found to be part of the mainland. Away now with British temerity, with her English Drake, and let him keep silent who boasts that he has circumnavigated California, as if, by a foolish fiction, California were the Atlantis of the West. I congratulate Your Reverence, therefore, and I ask God's most abundant blessings, fortified with which you may wage relentless war on Californian idolatry, while we, glorious with the palm, sing your victory.

Thus says Father Wenceslaus. I shall give, farther on, letters from the superiors and from the province.

CHAPTER XII. LETTERS FROM OTHER SECULAR GENTLEMEN AND MINISTERS OF HIS ROYAL MAJESTY IN REGARD TO THIS JOURNEY AND THE PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND IN REGARD TO THIS VICTORY OF THE PIMAS

Captain Juan Mateo Manje, who went with us on this expedition, wrote a long account of it in which, although he supports the statements of the fathers, yet, on account of a bay[417] which we saw from a distance about three leagues farther to the west than the ridge whence we returned, with the unanimous and unquali-

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Dei Deiparæque sine labe conceptæ honorem, Ecclesiæ Sanctæ incrementum, Fidei ortodoxæ dilatacionem, animarumque Salutem eveniat, California sub auspiciis Reginæ Lauretanæ, Sudore apostolico et labore indefesso P. P. Joannis Mariæ et Francisci Eusebii Continens feliciter inventa est. Eat nunc cum suo Draco Angli[*c*]*o et digitum ori imponat temeritas Britanica, quæ inani fabula in Atlante Californiarum Californiam a se circumnavigatam jactat. Gratulor igitur Reverentiæ Vestræ, et uberrima Dei auxilia precor, quibus munitus bellum idolatriæ Californiæ indicat cruentum cum palma Victoriam gloriosi occinimus.*"

[417] Manje distinctly says that, contrary to the maps and geographers, they could find no bay near Santa Clara (*Lux de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 104).

fied favorable opinion of the fathers, he placed in doubt whether or not California had continental connection with this land; but now, by the two expeditions which I afterwards made to that bay, this doubt has been removed, as shall be seen in the next book.

General Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Crussatt, who has been twice governor of New Mexico and alcalde mayor and captain of the presidio of this province of Sonora, on the twenty-first of June wrote me the following:

> Once and again I thank your Reverence for the greetings of the excellent Pima natives, to whom I very heartily return greetings, for, although I have measured the strength of the common enemy, we are going to have tranquillity through that Pima nation, and they are to be the fundamental base from which to extend the seed of the Gospel through the long circuit of the other nations. The credit is due to your Reverence for the greatest watchfulness in your unwearying peregrinations, so much for the service of God, who will give the reward for all. I am still waiting for the blue shells which came from California by a continental route found by the good endeavors of your Reverence, who are worthy of receiving repeated thanks and rewards from the superiors for undertakings so heroic, and whenever opportunity offers I shall give to the Señor viceroy and to the superior fathers account of everything.[418]

CHAPTER XIII. FOUR NEW MISSIONARY FATHERS ENTER THIS PIMERIA

1701. As a result of the expedition of the father visitor, Antonio Leal, which was made two years before and which I narrate in the first part, and of the reports of his Reverence and of other persons zealous for the service of God and the king, this year, 1701, the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, sent us four new fathers for this Pimeria; and, although the accustomed obstacles and opposition did not fail, they came in to the posts and new pueblos which were assigned to them by the father visitor. They found the many docile people, and cattle, crops, and harvests, and the beginnings of houses and churches which his Reverence had seen with his eyes, and they remained very well content, with great hopes of establishing there in the interior some very flourishing missions, as they said and wrote to me and to other persons on different occasions.

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[418] On the margin at this point in the original are directions to transfer the remainder of this chapter to chapter viii of the next Book, where the passages chronologically belong. They have been so transferred. See pages 325-327, *post*.

The four fathers who entered were the following: Father Juan de San Martin came to the three rancherías or new pueblos of San Gabriel de Guebavi, San Cayetano, and San Luys, which are about thirty leagues to the northward of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Father Francisco Gonzalvo went on farther to San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Sobayporis, which is about sixty leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

To the west, to San Pedro and San Pablo del Tubutama, which is twenty-five leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and fifteen from San Ygnacio, went Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi; and twenty-two leagues farther inland, to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, went Father Caspar de las Barillas.

In all places buildings were constructed, and very good beginnings were made in spiritual and temporal matters. In Guebavi in a few months we finished a house and a church, small but neat, and we laid the foundations of a church and a large house. Father

Juan de San Martin, on going by San Ygnacio, on the thirtieth of June wrote me the following letter:

> Yesterday afternoon, on account of the rain, which was excessive, we did not set out from San Ygnacio for Hymeres, although the loads and packs had already gone; and as nothing happens by chance, so far as God is concerned, his Majesty disposed my detention that I might receive your Reverence's letter and learn from it the very great charity which your Reverence does me, offering to assist me with all that is necessary for the new pueblos where holy duty assigns me.[410]

Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, from his new district of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, on the eighth of July wrote me thus:

> God will reward your Reverence for the gift of the cattle, sheep, goats, etc.; the reward your Reverence will receive in the next life, for your Reverence shows yourself a father to us poor fathers. I have been very grateful for the many favors of your Reverence.

Similarly, on account of the accustomed opposition of the common enemy, on the twenty-first of July the father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me the following:

> Much comfort have I had in your Reverence's letter, and because of those which the fathers have written to your Reverence. Now God is moving against the hindrances of the enemy; so I trust in his Majesty that he wills for your Reverence these provocations, for your greater merit.

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[410] Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 361) concludes that Arizona had no "regular mission or resident Jesuit" in Kino's day. This passage shows conclusively that he is mistaken. It is confirmed by other passages in the writings of both Kino and Manje. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 449, *footnote* 3, where Father Gonzalvo's name is by mistake given as González.

BOOK III. OF MY EXPEDITION OF TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE QUIQUIMA NATION OF UPPER CALIFORNIA, AND TO THE VERY LARGE, VERY FERTILE, AND VERY POPULOUS RIO COLORADO, WHICH IS THE REAL AND TRUE RIO DEL NORTE, 1701[420]

CHAPTER I. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, IN REGARD TO THIS EXPEDITION, WHICH I RECEIVE WHEN ON THE POINT OF MOUNTING MY HORSE TO UNDERTAKE IT

Pursuant to the plans which Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I had made in the previous expedition of the past month of March, it was my desire and determination to make this expedition in October, but as other occupations detained me some days, meanwhile there came from California the letter of his Reverence of September 10, dated at Loreto Concho. It runs thus:

1701. I receive your Reverence's letter dated July 10, with much pleasure at seeing the beloved handwriting of your Rever-

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[420] Manje adds interesting information here (*op. cit.*, 110-111). Jironza had agreed, because of the varied opinions and maps, to send soldiers to help the fathers settle the question of the land passage, and to see if a certain mineral vein shown them by the Indians was of gold or quicksilver. The soldiers were not sent because of a change in the military command, General Jacinto Fuensaldaña becoming commander of the Compañia Volante of Sonora, and Manje could not go because he was made alcalde mayor and captain-general of Sonora, and was called out to punish the Apaches just as the journey was begun. He adds that the missionaries went but left the matter of the land passage still in doubt.

ence, so eager to go to see the beloved Quiquimas by the head of the strait. God grant your Reverence all the strength which I wish you, and that, with the patronage of the Madonna, *Conculcabit leonem ett Draconem*;[421] and so, good courage, which perhaps your Reverence will receive on your passage. We can not set out from here to meet your Reverence because we are without the necessary mounts, through lack of a suitable bark.[422] I thank your Reverence sincerely for the ten loads of flour from last year's harvest, delivered at Matape, and the other ten to be delivered at Matape or Nacori, of the harvest of this year, the first of the century. It is the first offering which the Madonna has had, and as little or none can we expect from any other district, I pray your reverence that when you can, and as early as possible, you will deliver it at Matape, for we are much in need, not having had the aid of one *real* from the King our Lord, and most of the soldiers having gone to a little war which we have had with some priests of the idols, which placed us in much danger. But our Lady has aided us, and on the octave of Assumption they captured a principal chief and beat him to death;[423] the others made peace, coming with crosses in their hands, and we have emerged from that danger. And so, your Reverence, commend us in many devotions to our Lady, that She may give strength to the sixteen soldiers who remain to keep the circuit of more than fifty leagues of land obedient. I will give an account to our father of the great aid which your Reverence is giving us. And finally, your Reverence, accept a thousand greetings from my Father Rector Juan Duarte [423a] and Father Francisco Maria Picolo. With this I close, commending myself to your holy prayers and sacrifices. Loreto Concho.
October 18, 1701.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

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[421] "He will trample under foot the lion and the dragon" (*Psalm* xc, 13. *Conculcabis leonem*, etc.) Kino varies the person of the verb to suit the occasion.

[422] That is, barks were lacking to transport the necessary horses across the Gulf.

[423] *Apelotearon.*

[423a] Juan de Ugarte.

CHAPTER II. MY DEPARTURE FROM NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES FOR THE QUIQUIMAS OF CALIFORNIA, WHO ARE TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES DISTANT, WITH TWELVE SERVANTS, AND MY ARRIVAL AT SAN MARCELO, A JOURNEY OF MORE THAN NINETY LEAGUES[424]

NOVEMBER 3, 1701. On November 3, 1701, having dispatched five servants a day before with the relay of horses and with two small loads, I set out early from the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. I arrived in time to say mass and have All Souls celebrated at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and in the afternoon I passed on to the third pueblo, that of Cocospora.

4. On the fourth, having said the mass of All Souls, I arrived at midday at San Lazaro and spent the night at San Jose Guebavi, passing by San Luys,[425] where we killed a beef that they might sow the wheat for the Church; and I sent messages to the ranchería of Los Reyes del Sonoydag, six leagues to the east, to Captain Coro and his many people.

5. On the fifth, having said mass in the new and very neat little church, which a little while before Father Juan de San Martin had built (his Reverence at this time had gone away to be treated) and which I had ordered roofed and whitewashed, I set out to the westward for San Ambrosio del Busanic, and, passing by the borders of the new ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were about a thousand

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[424] So far as I know, no other diary of this journey has been found. Heretofore our principal reliance has been Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 295-301, which is a summary of this diary. Other brief accounts are given in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 497-499, Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 359; Venegas, *Nóticia de la California*, vol. ii, 103-105; Alegre, *Historia de la Comp. de Jesús*, vol. iii, 134.

[425] San Luis Bacoancos, called San Luis de Babi by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 295).

cattle and seven droves of mares, with sufficient horses and mules, all for the new missions which were being founded, after a fifteen leagues' journey we camped for the night at a good stopping-place, another Sonoydag, six leagues before arriving at San Ambrosio del Busanic.

6. On the sixth, Sunday, I arrived in time to say mass at San Ambrosio. We killed two beeves of this small new ranch, which had eighty-six grown cattle and forty-nine young ones, and three droves of mares, one of which we took with us with our relay of horses to San Marcelo, about fifty leagues farther in the interior.

7. On the seventh we dried some meat for the journey along the coast. We counted the droves and found out what they had sown and gathered for us of maize and wheat and beans.

8. On the eighth we set out for San Estanislao del Ootcam,[426] and having arrived after ten leagues' journey, we found that the governor of this ranchería had gathered and was keeping for us more than ten loads of maize which he had sown for us for the Church, without having been asked to do so.

9. On the ninth, they having given us four infants to baptize, we set out for Santa Ana del Anamic, where we arrived after fifteen leagues' journey, an hour after nightfall, by moonlight, some from San Estanislao accompanying us. The alcalde went ahead promptly to give notice of our coming, whereupon the governor of Santa Ana provided for us a little house and an arbor, and sundry of their eatables. When we had spoken to them of the Word of God they all wished to be baptized the following day, but I consented to baptize only two infants.

10. On the tenth we continued our route to the

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[426] Miscalled Ooltan by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, page 296).

westward. After a three leagues' journey we arrived at the small tank, or little well, of Santa Sabina, for afterwards we gave it this name, because on the return I said here the first mass on the day of the glorious saint, and it was the day on which the most glorious apostle of all the Indies died in the East Indies. There was not lacking here some one to sow the very evil darnel that farther on there were no water-holes, trying to induce us thereby to return thence, but a good Indian stranger, whom we made a fiscal and gave some little gifts, told us that he would take us to a good water-hole, although we should arrive at nightfall or a little after, as we did arrive, in the moonlight and half an hour after nightfall. The water-hole had abundant good rain-water with good pasturage. To it as well as to the near-by ranchería we gave the name of San Martin,[427] because the following day, day of the glorious saint, I said his mass here.

11. On the eleventh we set out for San Marcelo; and after a sixteen leagues' journey we arrived, also at nightfall. A little before noon we passed by the ranchería of San Rafael del Actun El Grande,[428] where we found that the captain of it had already set out with many other Indians to look for maize, for here none had been raised, on account of the scarcity of rain this year at the time of their planting, for they have no water but that of the rains. Today also many justices of various rancherías accompanied us, and in San Marcelo we were welcomed with all kindness by the natives, and by their justices, as well as by the very excellent overseer of the ranch, who had carried our messages with singular loy-

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[427] Ortega overlooked Santa Sabina and placed San Martin at three leagues from Santa Ana.

[428] "The Large." Compare San Serafin del Actum el Chico, *ante*, page 290. The routes between Santa Eulalia and San Rafael, as shown on my map, are to some extent conjectural.

alty, and had brought about with very good management the treaties between the Yumas and Quiquimas as we had charged them during the preceding months, and he and others gave us very good and very friendly news of both nations.

We found the new little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto very well roofed and well whitewashed, and the harvest of wheat and maize, and observed the good care which they had taken of the cattle. We delivered to them the drove of mares which for that purpose we were bringing, and sent to San Ambrosio del Busanic for sheep and goats also that they might be brought hither, as was done.

CHAPTER III. WE SET OUT FROM SAN MARCELO, AND AFTER A SIXTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVE AT THE YUMAS, AND AT SAN DIONYSIO AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIO GRANDE DE HYLA AND THE LARGE RIO COLORADO, OR RIO DEL NORTE

NOVEMBER 12, 1701. On the twelfth of November I despatched a courier to the Yumas and Quiquimas, giving notice of our coming, and a few hours afterward they brought me some gifts from these nations, consisting of seven curious balls, and blue shells from the opposite coast of California, with very friendly messages which they had sent me during the weeks preceding. We killed two fat beeves, and made a corral for the horses, and one for the cattle; and I ordered a new irrigation ditch opened, with which (as with ease might be done) to bring the water to the door of the house and at the same time to water a good field of wheat, and the sowing which was made while we went on the expedition, and which on our return we found done.

13. On the thirteenth, they having given us four in-

fants to baptize, we set out for Carrizal, where we found many people, with a little new house which they had prepared for me, and with new messages from the Yumas and Quiquimas. And they gave me two infants and five sick adults to baptize, the latter being instructed.

14. On the fourteenth we set out for the tank of La Luna, twenty leagues' journey. We arrived by moonlight half an hour after night fall, and although this tank is between rocks so sharp that the horses could not ascend to drink, we saw where on the return we could open a way for them, and afterwards we did open it.

15. On the fifteenth we set out for the tank of Agua Escondida. We took a siesta halfway, where there was good pasturage, and at two in the afternoon, after a ten leagues' journey, we arrived at the tank, which we found somewhat scant. We therefore determined to set out as quickly as possible to arrive on the following day so much the earlier at the good tank of La Tinaja, and having set out at nightfall, a good shower came upon us which, however, by the darkness made us lose the way; notwithstanding, we found it afterwards when the storm cleared, and, breaking our sleep a little, we got up very early in the morning, and,

16. On the sixteenth, traveling five leagues more, we said mass at a good stopping-place with water and pasturage. We breakfasted, and passing by the tank of La Tinaja, after a fifteen leagues' journey we arrived early at the Rio Grande de Hyla, and at its first ranchería of San Pedro, where the Yuma and Pima natives, mingled, welcomed us with all love, although with scarcity of provisions, for this year at the best time for planting rain had failed them. We found the courier and other justices who had come before, and also very

good news of the Quiquimas, who were anxiously waiting for us.[429]

17. On the seventeenth we set out from San Pedro westward, for San Dionisio, a great ranchería at the confluence of the Rio Grande de Hyla and the very large Rio Colorado; and, having crossed the Rio Grande on horseback by the only ford which it had in that vicinity, with a following of more than two hundred Yumas and Pimas from San Pedro, at nightfall we arrived in safety at San Dionisio, where also they received us with great affection.

CHAPTER IV. SETTING OUT FROM SAN DIONISIO, AND FROM THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIVERS COLORADO AND HYLA, AFTER A FIFTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT THE QUIQUIMA NATION OF CALIFORNIA ALTA

NOVEMBER 18, 1701. On November the eighteenth, having said mass and crossed the Rio Grande again, and taking a southwest course, or between south and west, a road which up to this time we had never traveled or entered, we set out directly by most level roads toward the Quiquimas of this California Alta, in thirty-three degrees latitude, and rounded the head of the sea, which lay to the south of us, about three hundred Yuma and Pima Indians, mingled, small and great, accompanying us from San Pedro and San Dionysio. They went in these great numbers on this occasion because, they having told me that the Quiquimas had an abundance of provisions, maize, beans, pumpkins, etc., and they being that year very short of provisions, I said to them that I was now going to the Quiquimas, and would barter for, and buy, and give them provisions, beans, maize, etc., as I did; and all returned well loaded with all kinds of provisions. Having traveled about thirteen leagues through very level country, seeing to the eastward the very great sandy beach of the head of the Sea of California, and to the westward the banks of the very large volumed Rio Colorado, near-by, we arrived at sunset at the new ranchería, still of Yumas, which must have had about five hundred souls, and which we named Santa Ysabel, because the day following I said there the mass of the glorious saint. All the people, although they were rather poor, welcomed us with all friendship and affability, and even late at night we sent to advise the Quiquimas, now near-by, of our coming to their rancherías.

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[429] Ortega omits all details of the journey from November 11 to this point (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 296).

19. On the nineteenth we set out for the first ranchería, and having arrived at midday we were received with all kindness, with many of their provisions, maize, beans, and various kinds of pumpkins, etc., things which in the six days preceding we had not been able to procure. So great was the affection of these natives that with these provisions they came more than two leagues to meet and to welcome us. While we alighted to receive the food, and to reciprocate with some little gifts and trifles, and to make them a talk on Christian doctrine, and on the purposes of our coming, etc., the only Spanish servant who came in our company, on seeing so great a number of so many new people was so terrified that, without our noticing it until a quarter of an hour after mounting our horses again, fled from us to the rear through fright, leaving us very disconsolate and very apprehensive lest he should go to give some false ill news that some great disaster had happened to us; and although immediately I dispatched in his pursuit the two best boys in the party, who came on the best mounts,

they could not overtake him. This caused me to send letters by couriers by other and shorter roads, as had happened on other occasions, when they took us for dead, though the celestial favors of our Lord preserved us in a pleasant life of prosperous successes in these new conversions.

In this first ranchería of these Quiquimas, with the messages and little gifts which we had sent them during the months preceding, they received us with much friendship, asking us that we should remain some days with them. We remained that day and half of the day following, and to this ranchería we gave the name of San Feliz de Balois, because here I said the mass of the glorious saint. Through the interpreters whom we brought in our following we made them some talks on our holy faith, which were well received by the natives. Very many people were present from all the surrounding country, and to their principal chiefs we gave justices' staves, and to the principal one of all the nation we gave a captain's staff. We made a decent little house or bower in a pleasant field of maize, which they had just gathered, for here begin very fertile lands, well cultivated, and very good pasturage.

The natives greatly wondered at many of our things, for they had never seen nor heard of them. They wondered much at the vestment in which mass is said, and at its curious sort of embroidery representing spring, and its skillfully woven flowers of different beautiful colors; and they would ask us to keep it on so that those who continually came to visit us might have the pleasure of seeing it. Also, it was a matter of much astonishment to them to see our pack-animals and mounts, for they had never seen horses or mules or heard of them. And when the Yumas and Pimas who came with us said to them that our horses could run faster than the most fleet-footed natives, they did not believe it, and it was necessary to put it to the test. Thereupon a cowboy from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores saddled a horse and seven or eight of the most fleet-footed Quiquima runners set out, and although the cowboy at first purposely let them get a little ahead, and they were very gleeful thereat, he afterwards left them far behind and very much astonished and amazed.

This afternoon the Coanopa[480] nation came also, from the north and from the northwest, with many provisions, maize, beans, pumpkins, and various other gifts, greatly desiring our trade, our friendship, and our holy faith, as a result of the message which these days and months past they had received.

20. On the twentieth we set out from San Feliz, continuing our course to the southwest, down the river, to go to see the many other rancherías of the Quiquima nation, and to cross this very large Rio Grande, or Rio del Norte, more than five hundred souls accompanying us, Quiquimas, Yumas, and Pimas. After a five leagues' journey we arrived at the crossing, where the two banks were crowded with people. All of them at once brought us abundant provisions, and they made us a decent little house on this side; for we determined to cross the river the following day, God willing. The people on the other bank and from the west swam across to this one on the east, bringing us their provisions in their baskets,[481] which were so large that each would hold a *fanega* and more of maize or beans. And they made them float on the water of the quiet, gentle river, after

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[480] Ortega omits mention of this tribe here (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298). They were the Cócopa, apparently.

[481] *Coritas*. Ortega calls them *bateas*, a word meaning troughs (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298).

the fashion of and in imitation of little canoes. All these Quiquima natives showed themselves most affectionate toward us, in particular their most friendly captain, especially in opening for us some good, and straight, and short roads through the thickets of the abundant and very dense woods, which were on these most fertile banks.

CHAPTER V. I CROSSED THE VERY LARGE VOLUMED RIO COLORADO, OR RIO DEL NORTE, ON A RAFT, WITH A SERVANT, AND PENETRATED TO THE WESTWARD THREE LEAGUES, THROUGH MANY RANCHERIAS AND THROUGH VERY FERTILE AND PLEASANT CHAMPAIGNS

November 21, 1701. On November the twenty-first, day of the Presentation of most holy Mary, our Lady, almost at midday, having in the morning carried some long and dry timbers from the little wood very near by, the same captain of the Quiquimas greatly aiding us personally therein, and lashing them together very securely and making a good raft with some ropes of *esmiquilpa* which we had brought for this purpose, we crossed in it this very large volumed Rio Colorado, which is probably about two hundred *varas* wide, and did not touch the bottom except at the two banks. We intended to take two or three horses over, also, but when they put the first horse in the river at a bad place, where he was mired, he was frightened, and we left him with the rest, and only the governor of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores crossed with me, in company with the many Quiquimas, the captain of the Quiquima nation aiding them in keeping the raft afloat. In order that I might not wet my feet, I accepted the large basket in which they wished me to cross, and placing it and fastening it upon the raft, I seated myself in it and crossed very comfortably and very pleasantly, without the least risk, taking with me only my breviary, some trifles, and a blanket in which to sleep, and afterwards some branches of broom weed which I wrapped up in my bandana to serve me as a pillow.

As we crossed the river many more people came to us and there were dances and entertainments after their fashion. I preached to them through an interpreter, here and on the road, and in the afternoon, when, after about three leagues' journey, we arrived at the house of the captain of the nation.[432] In all parts the word of God and the Christian doctrine were well received. All the road was full of small but very continuous rancherías, with very many people, very affable, very well featured, and somewhat whiter than the rest of the Indians. All this road was through a veritable champaign of most fertile lands, of most beautiful cornfields very well cultivated with abundant crops of maize, beans, and pumpkins, and with very large drying-places for the drying of pumpkins, for this kind lasts them afterwards all the year.

When, two hours before sunset, we arrived at the ranchería and house of the captain, the captain of the neighboring Cutgana[433] nation came also to see us, with a great following of people from the north and from the west, and with various gifts, and in particular with many blue shells from the opposite coast of California, and from the other or South Sea, giving us very detailed information in regard to them, and saying that they were not more than eight or ten days' journey to the westward, and that the Sea of California ended a day's journey farther to the south than where we were, this very large volumed Rio Colorado and two others emptying at its head. I asked them also about everything farther on, particularly toward the west and south, and by what way a road could be found to go at the proper time to trade with the other fathers and Spaniards of Loreto Concho, in twenty-six degrees latitude, for, according to a fair estimate they could not now be more than one hundred and twenty-five leagues from these our districts where we were. The captain of these Quiquimas called for me and brought an Indian of the new Hogiopa[484] nation, which is the one that comes next towards the south; and he having given us some account of his new people and of some stopping-places on the road which led to this presidio, I sent friendly messages to all those natives, saying that, God willing, on another occasion I should try to go also to those their lands. Besides, I sent them some messages in regard to Christian doctrine, and said that the purpose of our expeditions was the salvation of their souls, etc. And we left partially established some general peace-agreements among the Yumas, Pimas, Quiquimas, Cutganes, Hogiopas, and other nations, in order that all in their time might be very friendly and good Christians. I slept in a little house which they had made me, and almost all night they kept talking among themselves in regard to their very earnest desire to embrace our friendship and our holy faith.

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[432] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298) says, "house of the Quiquima captain."

[433] Ortega says Cuteanna (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298).

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[484] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298) renders this Ojiopas. The Cócopa, one of the principal Yuman tribes on the lower Colorado. Kino is eyidently the only one who calls them by this name, as it is not given in Hodge's synonymy (*Handbook*, vol. i, 318). In 1605 they lived in nine villages five leagues above the mouth of the Colorado, in Lower California.

CHAPTER VI. HAVING SEEN THE LAND-PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, WE TURN BACK FOR NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES. THEY GIVE US INFANTS TO BAPTIZE, AND WE ARRIVE IN SAFETY AT SAN MARCELO

NOVEMBER 22, 1701. Having left a variety of good advice for these natives, the Quiquimas and Cutganes, and a letter for the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, which the captain of the Quiquimas charged himself with carrying as much farther south as he could, I determined to turn back for my district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. First, so as not to be lacking in its administration. Secondly, because I was uneasy about the Spaniard who had turned back on the way. Thirdly, because now, thanks to our Lord, already this much disputed but now very certain land route to California had been discovered, for the sea did not ascend to this latitude of thirty-two degrees and its head ended ten leagues farther to the south and southwest.

We returned, then, through these many rancherías, and continuous pleasant champaigns of La Presentacion, for we gave them this name because of having discovered them the day of the Presentation of our Lady. They gave me two very sick infants to baptize, one of whom was called Thyrso Gonzalez, and the other Francisco Xavier Eusebio.

In all these pleasant and continuous rancherías there were all this morning many parties and dances, and songs and feasts, with a representation, or dialogue, and, as it were, a little comedy, by the very friendly natives, to the great joy of all. In these festivities we spent all the morning, and I came as far as the river, which I crossed on the raft used the day before, the captain of the Quiquimas and the captain of the Cutganes with many other people towing it over. I came in time to say mass at our booth, as a thank-offering for so many celestial favors of our Lord, of most holy Mary, and of San Francisco Xavier. In the afternoon I returned to San Feliz, with more than two hundred Pimas and Yumas; and although we all carried as many provisions as we could, so abundant were the maize and the beans and the pumpkins, dried and fresh, which the very friendly Quiquimas gave us, that the more than two hundred Pimas and Yumas could not load and carry it all.

23. On the twenty-third I arrived at the confluence of the rivers and at San Dionisio.

24, 25, and 26. On the twenty-fourth we arrived at San Pedro of the Yumas; on the twenty-fifth at Agua Escondida; on the twenty-sixth at midday at the tank of La Luna,[485] where all the afternoon we opened an impassable road through very sharp stones and rocks where animals had never been able to ascend to drink water, so that today all ascended to drink. And afterwards, an hour before sunset and in the night, we travelled five leagues more, so that the horses might have good pasturage.

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[485] Apparently modern Tinaja del Tule, but possibly Tinajas del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta. The former are described and pictured by Lumholtz (*op. cit.*, 237, 240), and the latter by the Boundary Commission as follows: "About one-fourth of a mile east of the summit of the Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta, in a deep, rocky cañon, are a number of natural tanks, worn in the rocks and filled by the rains. These tanks when full contain about 5,000 gallons of water, all of which is seldom exhausted, by evaporation alone, before another rain fills them. These tanks are known as the 'Tinajas del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta,' but were never much used by travelers, as they were off the road." Their place has been taken by the Tule Wells, dug after 1860 in the Tule Mountains about six miles to the southeast. *Report of the Boundary Commission* (Washington, 1898), part ii, 25.

27. On the twenty-seventh, having risen very early, after thirteen leagues of good road we arrived before midday in time to say mass, eat, and take a siesta at Carrizal, and in the afternoon, after eight leagues more, at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, where we found our relay of horses, and the lost Spaniard, who confessed that he had turned back and fled from fear of so many new and unknown people, who had come to meet us among the Quiquimas, for he was afraid that, being so numerous, they would do us some harm, but we attributed it all[436] to the accustomed celestial favors of our Lord, who always shelters us better than all human forces, giving us always the paternal aid and encouragement of His very divine and most merciful power.

28. On the twenty-eighth we rested at San Marcelo. We killed fresh fat meat, sowed more wheat, besides what was sown for the Church, and in the little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto we taught this afternoon the Christian doctrine and the prayers, as in the old Christian pueblos.

29. On the twenty-ninth when we wished to set out we found that some horses were missing and we stayed another day.

30. On the thirtieth, having left good messages and some little gifts for the Quiquimas, and having baptized the governor of San Marcelo, who was sick, we set out almost at midday for San Rafael del Actun.

DECEMBER 1, 1701. On December first we arrived at the new well or tank which the natives had opened for us that it might afford sufficient water for the horses also; and on account of the mass of the glorious saint which I said here we named it Well of Santa Sabina.

2. On the second we arrived at San Estanislao del

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[436] *I. e.*, our safety.

Ootcam.

3. On the third at San Ambrosio del Busanic.

4. On the fourth at the little ranch of Santa Barbara.

5. On the fifth at the ranch of the new mission of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda.

6. On the sixth we rested.

7-8. On the seventh we arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and on the eighth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER VII. ACCOUNTS OF THIS EXPEDITION ARE GIVEN TO VARIOUS PERSONS, IN PARTICULAR TO THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTONIO LEAL, IN THE FOLLOWING LETTER

I have just arrived in safety, thanks be to the Lord, from my peregrination or expedition by terra firma to California, and in going and return, in one month and five days, from November 3 to December 8, I have traveled four hundred-odd leagues. I reached a point thirty leagues distant from California, and crossed the Rio Grande de Hyla, and the very large Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte, on a raft, at latitude thirty-two degrees.

Through this expedition, thanks to His Divine Majesty, and through other talks, or messages, and little gifts which I had sent them the year before, and on several other occasions, there remain reduced to our friendship and with the desire to receive our holy faith, the Quiquima, Cutgana, and other nations, with more than ten thousand souls, who have very rich and very fertile lands. They gave me great quantities of their provisions, and so much of their maize, beans, and pumpkins, that I could not use nor load it nor carry it with us, neither I and my servants nor the more than two hundred Pimas and Yumas who went with me to the said Quiquimas.

From there I wrote to Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra at Loreto Concho a letter which the same captain of the Quiquimas charged himself with carrying farther inland toward the south. I bring with me not a few blue shells from the opposite coast of California which these Quiquimas gave me, with the detailed information that the said opposite coast and the sea of the south, by which the China ship is accustomed to come every year, is not more than seven or eight days' journey from the stopping-places or rancherías by which I went in this expedition.

Therefore, by the Divine Grace, in His time the commerce of the said China ships with this kingdom of Nueva Biscaya may be opened, to avoid the very circuitous and costly transportation of the very many goods which it carries to Acapulco by sea and from Acapulco to Mexico, and from Mexico to this Nueva Biscaya and the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, etc., by land, matters concerning which, as the Señor Marques de Buena Vista intimated to me in Mexico, there has been a discussion in the Royal Council.

And at the same time, through this port which can be provided for the above mentioned galleon from China, the lives of many of its sailors who every year are accustomed to fall sick and die from the painful disease of scurvy can be saved, since with fresh food they are easily cured and freed from this evil, for the disease originates from dried and salty foods which are dried and salty and stale from their long voyage.

To the above mentioned Quiquima nation succeeds the new Hogiopa nation. Now that some of them have come to see me, although they speak a different language, through the Christian talks and messages which

I have sent on to them beforehand, with the favor of the Lord, on the next occasion I shall have the road and way to them wide open and, through them, very far inland, and toward Loreto Concho, where live Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and the two other fathers with the sixteen soldiers, for I consider that I was not more than one hundred and twenty-five leagues, more or less, from their reverences. And as from these things might result the conversion and salvation of very many souls and important service to both majesties, I commend it all strongly to the holy sacrifices of your Reverence, whose life may our Lord preserve as I desire. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, December 8, 1701. Your Reverence's obedient servant,

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

CHAPTER VIII. LETTERS FROM THREE FATHER RECTORS IN REPLY TO THE NEWS IN MY LETTERS IN REGARD TO THIS MY EXPEDITION

The father rector, Adamo Gilg, on December fifteenth wrote me the following:

> I thank your Reverence for the very great pleasure which you gave me with the report and account of your apostolic journey and happy return *Ex transitu Felici Maris Rubri. Felix omen pro Terra Promissiones Patrum Californiensium. Faxit Deus ut novus rex Hispaniæ nostris conatibus faveat*! [487] The wars so kindled in Europe on account of a handful of land will perhaps not allow much thought in regard to the progress of the faith.

Thus far the father rector of this mission and rectorate of San Francisco Xavier, comparing this my expedition and journey and my having been able to cross the Rio Colorado and the Sea of California at its head to the crossing of the Red Sea, for some cosmographers have named this Sea of California the Red Sea.

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[487] "From the successful passage of the Red Sea [we take] a happy omen for the promised land of the California fathers. May God grant that the new king of Spain will favor our endeavors." Philip V became King of Spain in 1700.

But extremely, and more than all others, with His ardent apostolic holy zeal for the good of souls, was Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra rejoiced, with the other fathers of California, and the soldiers. Most gladly would his Reverence give this news to our Father General Thyrso Gonzalez, thanking me profusely for my labors, for he is pleased to call them "glorious," and encourages me, as always, to continue in so profitable an enterprise and so worthy of our holy Institute as the seeking of souls for Heaven and the conquering of the difficulties of the accustomed obstacles, opposition, etc.

Equally rejoiced at the news was the father rector of Oposura, Manual Gonzalez, for a little afterward his Reverence wrote me that he would be glad to go with me on another expedition, so that together we might go even further, and if it were possible, even to where the fathers of California were, in Loreto Concho. And we did make this expedition, which is related in the following book and year, 1702.

General Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña,[438] the present captain for life of the flying company of this province, spoke of the very great joy which he had felt in hearing that so fortunately we had crossed over the very large and populous Rio Colorado, making it possible to aid at closer range the new conversions of California, and he offered to coöperate in discoveries so blessed, in so far as he should be needed.[439]

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[438] The passages forming the remainder of this chapter were originally placed in the previous Book ii, Chapter 12, page 302. On the margin of this paragraph in the original are the words "To be placed in *entrada* of November."

[439] See *footnote* 420, which states that Kino had to go to the Colorado alone because of the change of commanders.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente,[440] captain of the Presidio of Janos and alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, on the thirty-first of August wrote me the following:

> I thank your Reverence for the news of your peregrinations, made with the sole purpose of reducing to our holy faith and to the royal obedience so great a number of souls as you have discovered in your journeys so remote, and opening the light of the Gospel to so great a number of heathen, who hitherto were blind in their idolatries. And you alone have tried, with the Christian and Catholic zeal of an apostolic minister, in imitation of San Francisco Xavier, to draw them with your exemplary life and doctrine to the true knowledge. May God give you very perfect health and His Divine aid, that in all you may see your great work rewarded, and that you may easily succeed in coming to join in the Californias with our reverend fathers Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Francisco Maria Picolo, and all those poor people to whom the knowledge that they can transport and trade by land with more security than by sea will be of great comfort, for this will be a great thing. And all will be due to your Reverence, who, I hope, will have from God and from his most holy Mother the assistance and rewards of glory and honor which your Lordship so deserves.
>
> No one more than I desires for you all good fortune, and I wish I were nearer in order to serve your Reverence in whatever way might be in my power, for it is only my duty, from my great obligation. I have no doubt that opposition will be forthcoming, and that there will be many to oppose the good work of your Reverence, because the Devil is laying up against you that which he is losing, and must seek means to ruin your Reverence. In regard to the Pimas, I have noted much loyalty in them, and with time and good teaching they will be very perfect Christians and loyal vassals of his Majesty. And since they are steadfast in peace and friendship for us we may promise ourselves very good fortune and may hope that by means

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[440] Note in the original: "After expedition VI, of November." See page 302.

of them will be discovered many nations and lands of those which your Reverence has found.

Thus far, with many other things besides, General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente. And now at the end of May, 1705, just when I am writing this chapter[441] (finding myself with a thousand occupations, what with the construction of churches and with the coming of very many natives from the north and from the west and from the northwest from a distance of more than one hundred and seventy leagues, as I shall say in the proper place) I receive the following very zealous and very affectionate letter from the Señor oidor and fiscal of his royal Majesty in the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, Don Joseph de Miranda Villa Ysan, dated the thirty-first of March:

May God our Lord bring reapers to aid in so abundant a harvest. The hopes that your Reverence may make a journey to Mexico have comforted me greatly. I imagine I see you there already, as on the former occasion, like a lightning-flash, quick and refulgent, but without destruction, although this you effect in the campaign against the Devil under the banners of his wretched heathendom, which God has just snatched from his claws in those provinces, for there is where we can say with David, on account of your Reverence, *Ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in loco ubi posuisti.*[442] So I expressed it, when, seeing your Reverence in the character of first commissioner to California, I read it and saw you appointed champion and associate of my well beloved Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra for the understaking.[443] But God disposes that you do not go from those provinces, perhaps because from there, without losing that renown, you are gaining souls for California by means of the well-founded information in regard to the route to it by land. Moreover, the first office of General Don Jasinto may have failed,[444] perhaps, because God disposed that he be a co-worker with your Reverence in these newest conversions. Those who command in any of those parts will incline their operations and thoughts especially to this, and they would make easier the accomplishment of so high a purpose, because the truth of the legal maxim, *Singula, quæ non possent, collecta iuuant*[445] would be seen divinely manifested. But the pity is that the sower of darnel even in the rooted crops more frequently exemplifies the opposite maxim, *Singuli qui non possent, collecti impediunt.*[446]

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[441] This was formerly in Book II, Chapter 12. See *ante*, page 302.

[442] "In his heart he hath disposed to ascend by steps in the place where Thou has set him" (*Psalm* lxxxiii, 6, 7). Kino, quoting from memory, uses *in loco ubi posuisti* instead of the scriptural *in loco quem posuit* "in the place which he hath set."

[443] The reference is to the appointment of Kino as companion of Salvatierra to go to California in 1697.

Thus far the Señor oidor fiscal of his royal Majesty, Don Joseph de Miranda y Villaysan.

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[444] The reference is to General Jacinto de Fuensaldaña.

[445] "What individual things can not do separately united they help." For *iuuant* read modern *juvant.*

[446] "What individual men can not do, united they impede."

BOOK IV. EXPEDITION OF TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES IN THE YEAR 1702, WITH THE VERY MINUTE NEW EXPLORATION OF THE VERY CERTAIN AND VERY EVIDENT PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA, WHICH IS SEEN TO BE NOT AN ISLAND, BUT A PENINSULA

CHAPTER I. DOUBTS AND CONTROVERSIES WHICH FOR SO MANY YEARS HAVE EXISTED IN REGARD TO WHETHER CALIFORNIA IS CONTINENTAL, OR TERRA FIRMA, CONTINUOUS WITH THIS NEW SPAIN[447]

1702. Some of the ancient cosmographers, although with some imperfections, delineated California as a peninsula, or an isthmus, but after the English pirate and pilot, Francis Drake, sailed on these seas, and in the bay of San Bernabe, near the cape of San Lucas of California, robbed the China ship or the Philippines galleon, called Santa Ana,[448] he, seeing then the many currents of the Gulf of California, concluded and proclaimed as a certain thing that this Californian Gulf and sea had communication with the North Sea, and that by the former sea California was separated from all this terra firma of New Spain; and he delineated it as surrounded with seas and as an island (which would have been the greatest in the world), and he sketched, but also incorrectly, the rivers of Coral and El Tizon and

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[447] This chapter throws interesting light on the genesis of Kino's ideas regarding California geography.

[448] Kino is mistaken here. It was Cavendish who plundered the *Santa Ana.*

Anguchi, or Buena Guia, as issuing and emptying into the said Sea of California at thirty-three, thirty-four, and thirty-five degrees of latitude, the fact being that, as with all certainty in various expeditions we have discovered, this Californian Gulf does not come up to thirty-two degrees. Therefore Drake on his return to his country misled all Europe, and almost all the cosmographers and geographers of Italy, Germany, and France, etc., delineated California as an island.[449]

In the celebrated University of Ingolstadt, of Bavaria, there was printed in my time a very finely executed general map of all the terrestrial world by my father master of mathematics, Father Adamo Aygentler,[450] who afterwards died most gloriously in the voyage of Father Jutorchete[451] for the missions of the Great China, when already near Goa—*in conspectu Goa*,[452] says the narrative. That map, which I brought with me to the Indies and even to these new conversions, with its little treatise and instruction or explanation, for it is cosmographical, geographical, horological and horographical, nautical and geometrical, etc., depicts California very correctly not as an island, but as a

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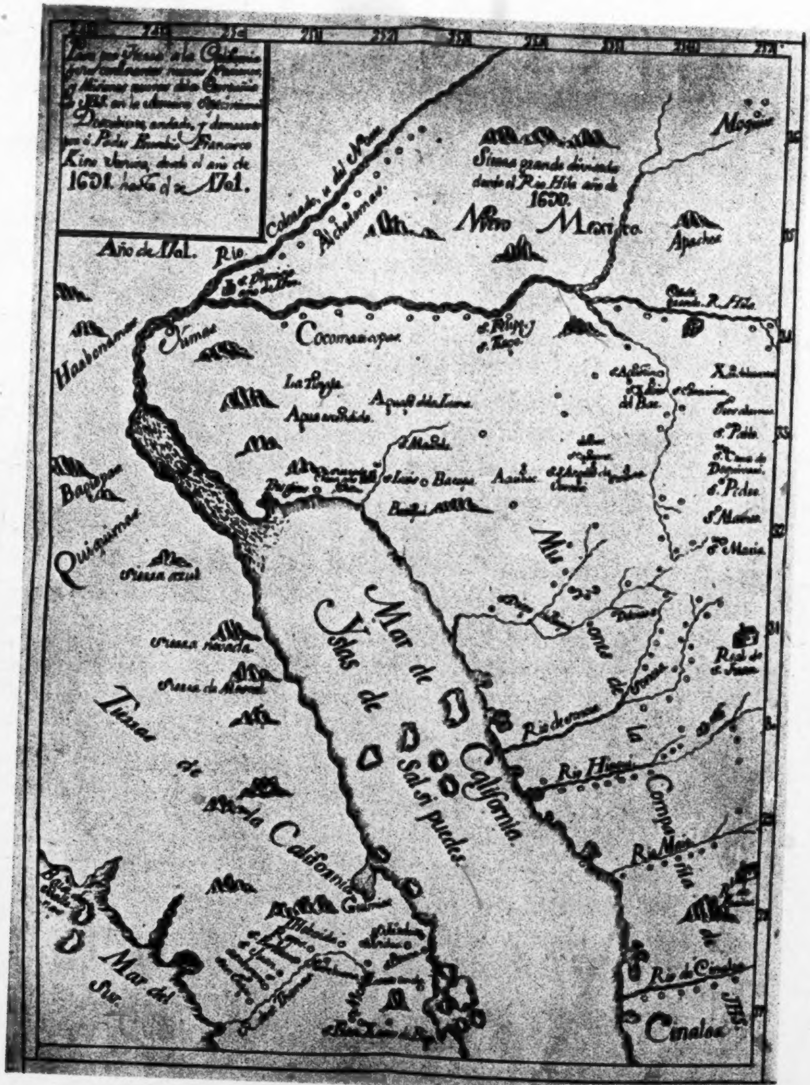
[449] For Drake's voyage see W. S. W. Vaux, *The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios* (London, 1854). As to Drake's theories, suffice it here to say that many views attributed to Drake were fables for which he was not responsible. See Bancroft, chapter on "The Northern Mystery," in his *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. i, chap. 2.

[450] Aigenler, Adam, 1635-1673, praeses. *Tabvla geographicohorologa universalis, problematis cosmographicis, astronomicis, geographicis, gnomonicis, geometricis illustrata, et vna cvm succincta methodo qvaslibet mappas geographicas delineandi. Publico certamini proposita . . . Praeside Adamo Aigenler . . . defendente Joanne Francisco Stavdhamer . . . Ingolstadii, typis Ionnis Ostermayri*, 1668. 1 p. l, 38, (32) p. fold. map, diagr. 18cm. Appended: "*Tabula latitudinum et longitudinum nova avthore R. P. Ioan, Bapt. Ricciolio . . . lib. 9 Geographiæ Reformatæ* c. 4."

[451] Stöcklein lists in his *Rerum Memorabilium* neither Aygentler nor Jutorchete.

[452] "In sight of Goa."


Kino Jesuita desde el año de
1691 hasta el de 1701.
Año de 1701.
Rio
Colorado, o del Norte
Alchedomas
Sierras grande divisada desde el Rio Hila año de 1690.
Nuevo Mexico
Moqui
Apaches
Rio grande R. Hila
Yumas
Cocomaricopas
Hasbonomas
La Tinaja
Aguas escondidas
Baquioppas
Quiquimas
Sierra azul
Sierra nevada
Mar de California
Yslas de Sal si puedes
Rio de Yaqui
Rio Mayo
Rio de Cinaloa
Cinaloa
Tierras de la California
Mar del Sur
Real de S. Juan

A later Version of Kino's Map of Pimeria Alta

peninsula. I studied the mathematical sciences in the University of Ingolstadt and in that of Freiburg, and I taught them afterwards according to our routine,[453] and by order of my superiors had to teach and lecture on them in public, so that in the fourth year of theology I took orders as a priest. But, although I discussed various mathematical sciences with his Lordship the Duke of Bavaria, who rules today, and with his Lordship his father, when their highnesses both together, in the year 1676, came from his Electoral Court of Munich[454] to see that great fortification, city, and university of Ingolstadt, and our greatest college of that city and province of Bavaria in Upper Germany, and was invited to give courses in these sciences, arts, and occupations there in Europe, yet I was always more inclined and I urged with the higher officials in Rome that I should come rather to teach the Christian doctrines and evangelical truths of our holy Catholic faith to these poor heathen, so much in need, that by us they might be saved and might help us to praise our most merciful God through all eternity.

In this belief that California was a peninsula and not an island I came to these West Indies, and when I arrived at Mexico I was assigned by the Father Provincial Bernardo Pardo as missionary and royal cosmographer[455] of California, and, trying to emerge from the doubts which attended these matters, I changed my position; first, because I read the account of the Adelantado of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, who, setting out from the villa of Santa Fe of New Mexico and travelling about one hundred leagues to the westward, came to the Moquis, and, as the account says, to the sea, and this in latitude thirty-seven degrees. Second, because other accounts by others said the same thing. Third, because many other maps, and the principal modern cosmographers of Germany, Flanders, Italy, and France, etc., said the same, and that California was an island;[456] and I made copies of these very great new maps from the palace of Mexico, borrowing and taking them for this purpose to the Colegio Maximo of San Pedro y San Pablo.[457] Fourth, because the many currents from north to south which I experienced in the voyages which I made in the Gulf of California were so continuous and at times so strong that it seemed as if the sea communicated with that of the north, and inclined me to the opinion that California was an island; and as such I sketched it in some of my maps.

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[453] *Pro rutiis de los nuestros.*

[454] Ferdinand was Elector of Bavaria from 1651 to 1679; Maximilian Emmanuel from 1679 to 1726.

[455] This passage indicates the intelligence with which Kino went about the task of cosmographer of the California expedition.

But now already, thanks to His Divine Majesty, with various expeditions, and three in particular, of one hundred and fifty, one hundred and seventy, and two hundred leagues, which I have made from here to the north of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I have discovered with all minute certainty and evidence, with mariner's compass and astrolabe in my hands, that California is not an island but a peninsula, or isthmus, and that in thirty-two degrees of latitude there is a passage by land to California, and that only to about that point comes the head of the Sea of California, the large volumed rivers which in the following chapters will be mentioned emptying into the head.

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[456] A Dutch map published in 1624-1625 (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 169); Briggs, map of 1625, and Hondiu's map of 1628 (Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847*, 380) all show California as an island. D'Aoity's map of 1637 (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 176), however, shows that the insular theory was not accepted by all. Harris's map of 1705, based on explorations along the California coast (Bancroft, *ibid.*, 196-197) shows California as an island.

[457] The church of the Colegio Máximo was dedicated in 1603, and at that time was the most sumptuous in Mexico (Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. iii, 118; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva-España*, vol. i, 408).

CHAPTER II. THE EXPEDITION OF TWO HUNDRED AND MORE LEAGUES IS UNDERTAKEN WITH FATHER RECTOR MANUEL GONZALEZ TO THE QUIQUIMAS, FROM THE FIFTH OF FEBRUARY TO THE MIDDLE OF APRIL, 1702, AND AFTER THE FIRST NINETY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVE AT SAN MARCELO DEL SONOYDAG[458]

1702. Having received the desired report of my preceding expeditions, the father rector of Oposura, Manuel Gonzalez, who was visitor of these missions of Cinoloa and Sonora when fifteen years ago these new spiritual and temporal conquests and the new conversions of this Pimeria, etc., were begun, his Reverence, who was in poor health, was inspired to come to be an eye-witness of so many souls, so many rivers, and so large a country, etc., and, advising the present father visitor, Antonio Leal, and me, on the thirty-first of January his Reverence came from Oposura and Cumupas to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with his servants, and with fifty mules, and with other things very useful for the expedition, which was made as the following daily account will state.[459]

FEBRUARY 5, 1702. On the fifth of February we set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Father

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[458] So far as I am aware no other diary of this journey has thus far been found. Brief accounts are given in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 500; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 359; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 301-309 ("from Kino's letter" Bancroft erroneously remarks); Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 134-135; Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 105-106. All come from Kino's Ms. directly or indirectly.

[459] Father Ortega's account, the fullest thus far extant, dismisses in thirteen lines the subject matter of this chapter and the next.

Rector Manuel Gonzalez with his equipment, and I with twelve servants, a few additional loads, and eighty horses and mules.

6-7. On the sixth we left Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and after ten leagues' journey we reached the neighborhood of the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were more than a thousand cattle and seven droves of mares belonging to the new conversions, and, arriving early the following day, we supplied ourselves with meat, fresh and dried.

8. On the eighth, after twelve leagues' journey, we arrived at Santa Barbara, where another little ranch was begun for these roads to the land passage to California Alta.

9. On the ninth we set out for San Ambrosio del Busanic, the natives having given us three infants to baptize.

10. On the tenth, on arriving very early at San Ambrosio, we found more than twenty justices, governors, and captains from the interior, who, travelling more than fifty leagues, had come out to meet us and welcome us. I talked to them in regard to the mysteries of our holy faith, and in regard to the purpose of our expedition; and as here also they were keeping for me cattle, sheep and goats, and some droves of horses, we killed three beeves for the people[460] and for the journey.

11. On the eleventh we set out for San Estanislao del Ootcam, where we found more than three hundred souls, most of them from the interior, who also had come to meet us. They gave us two infants to baptize and performed for us some friendly dances and entertainments. Father Rector Manuel Gonzales was very

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[460] *I.e.*, for the natives.

much pleased to see these natives so jovial and so affable, and he pondered not a little on the great pity that natives so friendly had not, like the others near by, the necessary missionary fathers whom they requested, for already they had very good crops of maize, not only for themselves but also for the Church, and had provided for us a medium sized earth-covered adobe church, with its altar, in which with decency we, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales and I, said mass the day following Sunday, Septuagesima.

12. On the twelfth we set out for the tank of Santa Eulalia, day of that Saint, and having taken from San Estanislao sufficient provisions for the journey along the coast, I ordered another small ranch begun in Santa Eulalia, also.

13. On the thirteenth, the day on which was celebrated the day of this saint, we set out from the tank of Santa Eulalia, and, saying the mass of the saint, after ten leagues' journey we arrived at the tank which Father Rector Gonzales named Tank of San Vicente.

14. On the fourteenth, passing by the tank and well of Santa Sabina, after sixteen leagues' journey we arrived at the tanks of San Martin.

15. On the fifteenth we arrived at midday at San Rafael del Actun. Its natives sent to meet us with crosses and welcomed us with arches and crosses placed along the roads, and with all hospitality in the way of provisions. They gave us two little brothers to baptize, of whom one was named Manuel and the other Eusebio. Traveling today fourteen leagues, in the afternoon we arrived at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, being welcomed with all love by the more than two hundred natives who were here.

CHAPTER III. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO DEL SONOYDAG, AFTER MORE THAN SIXTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT SAN DIONISIO AND AT THE VERY LARGE RIO COLORADO OF THE YUMAS

FEBRUARY 16, 17, 18, 1702. We rested on February the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth at the ranch and ranchería or pueblo and very good post of San Marcelo, where we killed three fat beeves and a sheep for the journey, and where we taught the Christian doctrine and the prayers every day. They gave us two infants to baptize, and we performed a marriage ceremony *in facie Ecclesiæ.*[401]

19. On the nineteenth, Sexagesima Sunday, we went from San Marcelo to Carrizal.

20. On the twentieth, the friendly natives having given us three infants and a sick adult to baptize, we set out, and after about fifteen leagues' journey we arrived near the tank of La Luna.

21. On the twenty-first, passing near this tank, and letting the horses drink, we arrived at the plains and the pastures near Agua Escondida.

22. On the twenty-second we set out directly for the tank of La Tinaja, and reached it after twelve leagues of very level and straight road.

23 and 24. On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth we were detained by a great cloud-burst, which much increased the stream of that tank, and we saw that it passed by some very sightly rocks which appeared to be very fine tanks made by hand and with very great art, and it seemed to the father rector that this tank with much reason should be named Aguaje de los Alquives[402]

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[401] "Before the Church."

[402] Watering-place of the Tanks.

Today and on the two following days we saw to the westward in the afternoon the comet which was in the constellation of Aquarius.[463]

25. On the twenty-fifth, after six leagues' journey, we arrived at the Rio Grande, or Hila, and at its ranchería of San Pablo of the Yumas, who had provided for us a little house in which to live and say mass. They received us with arches and crosses placed on the road; and the father rector distributed among them almost a tierce of sugar and other gifts.

26-27. On the twenty-sixth we set out for the Rio Colorado. After going four leagues we arrived at the opening where it may be said California Alta begins,[464] because its meridian passes through the middle of the head of the Sea of California. As a rain-storm again threatened, we halted near there, and the natives brought us, from various parts, quantities of very fine fresh fish and other gifts, today as well as the following day, when we were detained by the rain.

28. On the twenty-eighth we set out for San Dionisio and the confluence of the rivers.

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[463] According to Galle there were two comets in 1702, the first being visible in February and March, and in southerly regions only. The second was discovered on April 20. The former is evidently the one mentioned by Kino as visible in Arizona. According to Professor R. T. Crawford, no orbit has been computed for this comet.

[464] They were now at the pass through the Gila Range. His assertion concerning the meridian was essentially correct.

CHAPTER IV. SETTING OUT FROM SAN DIONISIO AND THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIO COLORADO AND THE RIO GRANDE, AFTER FIFTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY TO THE SOUTHWEST WE ARRIVED AT THE QUIQUIMA AND CUTGANA NATIONS, AND AT THE MOUTH OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED RIVERS[485]

MARCH 1, 1702. On March first, Ash Wednesday, having said mass and given ashes to all our servants, and having viewed deliberately and with great pleasure the very pleasant confluence of the rivers, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales said that one might well come from Mexico to see it on account of its very sightly groves, its copious and peaceful waters, fertile lands, etc. We set out for the southwest, or between the south and the west, a course well-known to be toward California, and even on this road we found a great number of affable Yumas, in particular at the great ranchería of Santa Ysabel.

2. On the second, passing on, and leaving at the right the rancherías of San Felis and La Presentacion and the crossing where in the preceding month of November I had passed the Rio Colorado on a raft, and its very rich lands, we arrived at the ranchería of San Rodesindo,[486] where many Quiquimas awaited us with many of their provisions. They gave us in abundance maize, beans, dried pumpkins, fish, etc., and we in return gave them some of our trifles and little gifts, teaching them the Word of God and Christian doctrine, through interpreters, which was very well received.

3. On the third we rested and arranged for the descent to the very disemboguement of these rivers in the

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[485] At this point Ortega's account becomes fairly full and satisfactory (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 301).

[486] Ortega does not note that they had now passed the place where Kino had previously crossed the river.

sea. Many natives came to see us from various parts, invited by the captain of the Quiquimas and by the captain of the Cutganes. And because the sick infant, Thyrso Gonzales, whom I had baptized in the preceding November, was now very well, fine, and fat, his mother, and very many other mothers also, brought me their infants and gave them to me, begging me to baptize them too, although I put them off for a better season. Father Rector Manuel Gonzales with his great charity gave to these very friendly natives even his own shirts, white handkerchiefs, generous handfuls of chocolate, and the shoes which he wore.

LATITUDE THIRTY-ONE AND A HALF DEGREES. At midday we took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe, and found it to be fifty-two degrees, which, adding to it the six and a half of south declination of that day, made fifty-eight degrees and a half. The complement of ninety degrees is thirty-one degrees and a half, and this was the altitude of the pole or geographical latitude in which we found ourselves.[467]

4-5. On the fourth we arrived at the rancherías of San Casimiro.[468] On the fifth we descended to the bayous of the sea directly to the southward, finding in all these very many natives, Quiquimas, Cutganes, and Hogiopas,[469] who had come from the west and from the southwest, great affability and love and affection. We inquired about various nations, and about various hills, and about all the rivers of the west, and, besides, about the very large Rio Colorado which, joined with the Rio Grande or Rio de Hila, empties into the head of the

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[467] This is what Kino says. The complement of ninety degree is zero. He means that the complement of 58½°, to make 90°, is 31½°.

[468] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 302) says that on the fourth they went directly south to San Casimiro, but the diary says that it was on the fifth that they went directly south.

[469] The Cócopas.

Sea of California on the west side. Near there also empty the Rio Azul, which comes from the north, and the Rio Amarillo, which comes from the northwest, as the Rio Colorado from the northeast and the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila, from the east, as may be seen in the maps of this treatise.[470]

5. On the fifth in the afternoon we gave four justice's staffs, with good teachings, to those who had come from the west, and they brought us so much fish that we could no longer accept it.

6. On the sixth we made all possible efforts to cross the Rio Colorado, but the many bogs hindered our attempt, because it had rained these days.

7. On the seventh Father Rector Manuel Gonzales descended to the very mouth and to the sea by a westward course, and I, having collected information for us concerning all these natives of the west, and sent my messages ahead to those on the other bank of the river, descended in the afternoon, having been detained by the continuous messages which they were sending me.[471]

8. On the eighth more than three hundred souls from the other bank of the very large volumed Rio Colorado having come to see us, swimming across, small and great, with many of their provisions, and with blue shells from the opposite coast, urged us to cross over to see their good lands and the rest of their numerous and amiable people. But, as the illness and painful flux of the father rector troubled him more and more each day, we determined not to cross, and consoled the natives with good words, saying that, God willing, we would try to comply with their friendly de-

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[470] From this passage it is inferred that Kino prepared a map for this treatise which differs from his published map of 1705.

[471] Ortega omits the details of this paragraph.

sires on another occasion, and, sending them away with various gifts, we returned to San Casimiro.[472]

9. On the ninth, so much were we moved by the petitions and desires of the natives on the other bank of the river, and so great was our desire to cross to see the Rio Amarillo, and even to cross to the Sea of the West, or sea of the opposite coast, or South Sea, since some assured us that it was not more than eight or nine days distant, and since they brought us some little pots, and other gifts which before had been brought from the opposite coast, I determined to descend another time to the mouth and with the natives to cross the Rio Colorado, and for this purpose we provided ourselves with the necessary provisions and with the best horses, etc.

10. On the tenth we descended again[473] to the mouth, taking and joining many dry poles to make a very great raft on which to cross the very large volumed and very wide Rio Colorado and Rio Grande de Hila and Rio Azul, which in the estuary all made a body of peaceful waters. At this the natives all now greatly rejoiced, in particular those on the west bank, who again had come to meet us in large numbers, great and small. But as his painful flux troubled the father rector seriously, and as we found very difficult the crossing of the horses, because of the enormous bogs on the banks of the very large volumed river, we determined to defer this crossing for another and more opportune occasion, and again we consoled the natives as best we could, passing the night with them at the estuary, where the open sea came very near to our beds. This night the father rector's saddle horse was lost, but

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[472] Ortega does not note the return to San Casimiro, except by implication.

[473] Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 302) is confused regarding this second descent to the mouth and Bancroft omits it entirely.

the natives found it, tied it up, and gave it grass and a pot of water, and came to tell us to come for it.

11. On the eleventh I said the mass of Santa Francisca Romana. The sun rose over the head of the Sea of California, proof most evident that we were now in California; and, besides, we saw most plainly more than thirty leagues of continuous land to the south, and as many more to the west, and as many more to the north, without the least sign of any sea except that which lay to the eastward of us.

CHAPTER V. HAVING GONE BEYOND AND LEFT THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA TO THE EASTWARD, AND HAVING ENTERED ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE LEAGUES FARTHER THAN IN THE PRECEDING JOURNEYS[474] INLAND, WE TURNED BACK TO OUR MISSIONS AND THE PROVINCE OF SONORA; AND AFTER GOING MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND TEN LEAGUES, WE ARRIVED AT SAN MARCELO

MARCH 12, 1702. Being on the point of returning to Sonora, doubt arose as to whether we should return by the same route which we had taken to go to California, or by another, a new and straighter road, directly to the east, in order to come out at San Marcelo by the great sandy beach, round which it was sixty leagues; for, although some said that this road could not be traveled for lack of water and pasturage, we knew that on that sandy beach the Pimas of San Marcelo and the Quiquimas had assembled the year before when they had made their peace-agreements; and some persons told us that in that beach there was a canebrake with sufficient water and pasturage. Therefore, on March 12 we set out on the new road, but having travelled about eighteen leagues over most difficult sand dunes and with continuous, violent, and most pestiferous wind, during the whole day we found neither a drop of water nor the least bit of pasturage. And although in the afternoon we found some people, they themselves were going about as if lost and seeking water, but without finding it; [13, 14] and after passing a very toilsome night, we found ourselves obliged, with much more trouble, to return the following day, March 13, to San Casimiro, and to the Colorado River, where the friendly Quiquima natives relieved us with a refreshment of their own provisions, although our relay was not able to arrive until the next day, March 14.[475]

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[474] This statement gives a clue to the place of the crossing made by Kino in the previous journey.

15. On the fifteenth we set out up the river toward Santa Ysabel and San Dionisio, through which we had come, and at the camp of Los Sauzes a Coanopa overtook us with provisions which the Coanopas sent us.

17, 19, 20, 21. On the seventeenth we arrived at San Pablo of the Yumas; on the eighteenth at the Alquives; on the nineteenth at the plains of El Agua Escondida; on the twentieth at the tank of La Luna; and on the twenty-first at Carrizal. On setting out from the camp, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales said to me that although it was not well to believe in dreams, he could not deny that a dream, or what was apparently a dream which he had had that night, kept him very much consoled in the midst of his ills, attacks, pains, and fatigues. It was that it had been represented to his Reverence that he and I, although with very much toil yet with equal joy, were crossing, at the mouth of the Colorado River, some very extensive and beautiful plains, one of which was called San Joachin.[476]

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[475] Father Francisco Garcés in 1771 made his way across the sand dunes from the Colorado to Sonóita, and so did Lumholtz in 1910 (Bolton, "The Early Explorations of Father Garcés on the Pacific Slope," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 328; Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, chap. 16).

[476] This interesting detail is omitted by Ortega and all others.

22. On our setting out on the twenty-second from Carrizal, the natives besought me insistently to baptize for them two sick women, which I did; and we arrived at San Marcelo, where we rested. During the three days we killed three fat beeves and two sheep; and taught the Christian doctrine, said mass in the new, neat, and well whitewashed little church or chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and did all in our power to relieve the illness of Father Rector Manuel Gonzales.

CHAPTER VI. LEAVING SAN MARCELO, AFTER ABOUT SEVENTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT THE NEW PUEBLO OF EL TUBUTAMA

The only grief, though a very deep one, which we suffered, was that Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, who, since leaving his college and his mission of Oposura, and even some months before, had been very ill of flux, was now so debilitated and exhausted from it that it was necessary henceforth to carry his Reverence on a litter on the shoulders of the natives. But they did it with great care and with much charity and love, as if they all were old Christians, sending through the stretch of more than seventy leagues of this extensive coast to search for and bring the most robust natives of these at times somewhat unpeopled places, until we arrived at San Estanislao, San Ambrosio del Busanic, and finally at the new pueblo of El Tubutama, where lived Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, who, advised of our coming, with his great charity came in person some leagues to meet us, bringing some of his children and some refreshments of provisions, etc., although already three days before, at the tank of Santa Sabina, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales had been so debilitated and so nearly unconscious that, since his Reverence had asked me, I had had to administer the sacrament to him, giving him communion as *viaticum*.

From El Tubutama, and even before reaching there, we sent promptly to bring from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Cucurpe, the Valle de Sonora, and Oposura, persons skilled in curing, with all possible remedies for so painful an illness. But about ten days afterward His Divine Majesty saw fit to take His great servant, very fervid worker in the vineyard of the Lord, and very zealous minister for the greater glory of God and for the good of souls, to Himself and to the heavenly rest which he had so deserved by his talents, his works so heroic, and his learning and his religious truths so exalted, as other better pens will be able to relate in a very long letter of edification.[477]

CHAPTER VII. MANY OTHER THINGS RELATING TO THIS ABOVE-MENTIONED JOURNEY INLAND CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE LONG LETTER WHICH I WROTE TO THE FATHER VISITOR, WITH THE CERTIFICATION OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR MADE IN ORDER THAT I MIGHT GO TO MEXICO. DIVIDED INTO SIX CHAPTERS,[478] IT IS AS FOLLOWS

MY FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL, *Pax Christi*: I have just arrived in safety, thank God, from the journey inland to the Quiquimas of California, at this house of your Reverence and of Our Lady of Sorrows. And I again thank your Reverence very much for your last greatly esteemed letter, which I received on setting out from this district for that journey on February 5, in the very agreeable company of my Father Rector Manuel Gonzalez, in which letter your Reverence said for our great comfort in all things that this journey inland was going to bring it about, that, by divine grace, these extensive nations of this mainland to the northwest, north, and west should all be converted to our holy Faith. May his divine Majesty so grant it.

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[477] Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, 500) says that Father Gonzáles died at San Ignacio. I do not know where he gets this information. Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 303) implies that he died at Tubutama and Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 135) distinctly says so. These pages confirm that view.

[478] In all probability it was not so divided originally, but was cut into chapters for incorporation in this book.

On the second of this month of April, on the return from the journey inland, at San Estanislao del Ootcam, forty-seven leagues from here, I received a letter from Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, written at the pueblo of El Tubutama, in which his Reverence told me that on account of its having been rumored as certain that Father Manuel Gonzales and I and our people had been drowned in the Rio Grande,[479] the masses and suffrages, as they are called in our Society, already had been said for us. But, thanks to his divine Majesty, without experiencing any dangers of this sort, travelling safely by these coasts, our way and course being almost always to the northwest, between north and west, on March 1, after a journey of one hundred and sixty leagues from here, we arrived in time to keep Ash Wednesday in California, at the confluence of the two large rivers, the Rio Grande de Hila and the Rio Grande del Colorado. And although in this journey inland we did not cross these rivers, on account of the bogs and the spring rains, we descended to their mouth, a journey of more than forty leagues to the southwest, or between south and west. And there came to see us, swimming across the river in different parts, about four thousand very affable, docile, and friendly Indians–Yumas, Coanopas, Cutganes, and Quiquimas–with much affection bringing us of their provisions, consisting of maize, beans, pumpkins, and fish, in abundance.

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[479] Ortega at this point states that on April 2 Kino wrote to his superior to dispel those stories, but by hasty reading he confused the letter received on April 2 with the present one written on April 8 (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 304).

And in this journey inland, as in my preceding one of the past month of November, they received the word of God with so much appreciation that they gave me many infants to baptize. Of the two little ones whom I had baptized in the preceding journey inland, this time the mother of one, called Thyrso Gonzales, brought him to me, for, having recovered, he was fat and healthy. Many other mothers also brought me their children, asking me to baptize them, but I did not baptize them, nor many adults who in these journeys after the talks on Christian doctrine which I made them asked me for holy baptism; for I told them that instruction was first necessary. Therefore eight of these adults, among them the principal men, have now come with me to be instructed here during this Holy Week and Easter, some of them travelling for this purpose more than two hundred leagues.

Although in going and returning he was very ill of his painful flux and hemorrhoids, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, with the great charity which was characteristic of him gave those poor natives many gifts, and even a great part of his own clothing and undergarments, etc. When on March 8 his Reverence descended and arrived first at the estuary, very early in the morning, at twilight, there came to see his Reverence, swimming across, more than two hundred Indians, great and small, and they soon brought him many of their eatables as a present, with much friendliness and affection. His Reverence is convalescing at the pueblo of El Tubutama.

From this estuary and in different places we learned and even saw that there were two other large rivers which emptied at the head of this Sea of California. One, which comes from the north, the natives called Rio Azul, and the other, which comes from the northwest, they called the Rio Amarillo. Also, we learned and saw that the very large volumed Colorado River, a few leagues below its confluence with the Rio Grande or Rio de Hila, divides again into very large branches, and with them makes a great island more than fifty leagues around with very fertile lands and very good plains.[480]

In this journey inland we have been very much aided by the good equipment and the excellent servants which Father Rector Manuel Gonzales took, by the capable guides and interpreters, Pimas and Yumas, and also by the various ranches of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses which we have found in various parts of this district, in particular at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, ninety leagues from here, where, going and returning, we killed eight of the more than one hundred head of fat beeves which they are caring for, with plantings and crops of wheat and maize, and with their little whitewashed adobe church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, whence it will be easy to send on more cattle, sheep, goats, and horses to California, for the natives are so loyal that, some of our horses having been lost and having remained on the Rio Grande on the preceding journey inland, I have now found them, because they had caught and taken care of them for me with all affection.[481]

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[480] Ortega includes this information about Rio Azul and Rio Amarillo, but Bancroft omits it. Ortega concludes that the Azul and the Amarillo must join the Colorado, instead of flowing into the Gulf, since between the Yaqui and the Colorado on the one side and San Lucas and the Colorado on the other no large river enters the Gulf (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 304).

CHAPTER VIII. COGENT REASONS AND CLEAR ARGUMENTS WHICH ESTABLISH THE CERTAINTY OF THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

In case there should be some incredulous persons or someone ignorant of it, the continuity of these lands with California would be rendered certain and proved by the seven following convincing reasons or arguments:

1st. Because thus I saw it on October 9, 1698, from the neighboring high mountain of Santa Clara.[482] And again in March of the past year, 1701, we saw this connection and passage by land to California, in the company of Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, for his Reverence came with ten soldiers and other persons to see this demonstrated, since some had contradicted us.[483]

2d. Because in four other journeys inland which I have made, travelling fifty leagues to the northwest of the said hill of Santa Clara, which is near to and to the eastward of the arm and head of the Sea of California, and afterwards in going ten leagues[484] more to the westward, along the Rio Grande, to where it unites with the Colorado River, and from this confluence forty leagues more to the southwest, along the same Colorado River to its mouth, no Sea of California has been found or seen, for it does not rise higher than barely to the latitude of thirty-two degrees. Hence it is plainly to be inferred that Drake, besides many other modern cosmographers, in their various printed maps, with notable discredit to cosmography, deceive themselves as well as others, by extending this sea, or arm, or strait of the Sea of California from thirty-two to forty-six degrees, making it thereby an island, and the largest in the world, whereas it is not an island but a peninsula.

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[481] Ortega is puzzled by the conflict of evidence as to whether the Río Azul is a branch of the Gila or of the Colorado. He thinks it certain that the Río Amarillo flows into the Colorado and not into the Gulf. It is not clear to him why Kino should say that the Colorado entered the Gulf at 31½°, since in his journey with Salvatierra they were in the sand-dunes at 32½° and were still thirty leagues from the mouth of the Colorado, and since Consag found the Colorado mouth at 33°. He can not understand how Kino reached the Colorado mouth by going west (on his last day's journey) since he had elsewhere said that it flowed south into the Gulf. It is difficult to understand how Kino saw the sun rise over thirty leagues of sea, when the Gulf runs north and south, and is not thirty leagues wide. He is puzzled to know why Kino did not mention the islands discovered by Consag, and suggests that they may have been formed by the Colorado in the ensuing forty-five years. He remarks that explorers usually record their results too briefly, and take too little time to make proper observations (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 305-307).

[482] See *ante* page 187.

[483] See *ante*, pages 282-283.

3d. Because in this journey inland when I was saying mass on March 11[485] at the above-mentioned mouth of the Colorado River, in company with Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, the sun rose above more than thirty leagues of sea, at the head of this Californian arm or gulf. At the same time, from the same estuary we saw to the westward thirty leagues more of continuous land, as many more to the south and southwest, and many more to the north, northwest, and northeast. Therefore, this sea does not extend to the north.

4th. Because the natives nearest to that estuary, Quiquimas as well as Cutganes and Coanopas, both this time and on other occasions, gave us various blue shells which are found only on the opposite coast and on the other, or South Sea, where the ship from China comes. And they gave us this time some little pots which shortly before they had brought from that opposite coast, travelling ten leagues[488] from the west by continuous land.

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[484] This gives a clue to the distance of San Pedro from the junction.

[485] See *ante*, page 344.

5th. Because these natives and others who came to see us from far to the southwest gave us various reports of the fathers of our Company, telling us that they wore our costumes and vestments, and that they lived down there to the southward with the other Spaniards at Loreto Concho, where the Guimies and Edues, or Laimones Indians obtained their food, and where Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra and others were. And I having purposely asked them if those Guimies and Edues Indians down there planted maize, and what foods they lived on, they answered us that they did not plant maize nor beans, etc., but that their food was game, the deer, the hare, the mountain goat, the *pitajaya*, the *tuna*, the *mescal*, and other wild fruits, and that the Indians to the westward had blue shells, all being things and reports which it was plain to me were true, since I was there and lived with those Indians seventeen years ago.

6th. Because now in this journey inland and on other occasions I have found various things–little trees, fruit, incense, etc.–all species which are peculiar to California alone, and samples of which I bring, to celebrate with the incense, by the favor of heaven, this Easter and Holy Week, and to place five good grains of incense in the Paschal candle. Moreover, near this estuary we already have found some words of the Guimia language which I learned there, while missionary and rector of that mission of California, although unworthy, in the two trienniums of Fathers Provincial

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[488] This clearly should be ten *days* instead of ten *leagues*, as is made clear by the entry for March 9.

Bernardo Pardo and Luys del Canto, from the year 1681 to that of 1685.[487]

7th. Because the ancient maps with good reason showed California as a peninsula and not as an island, as well as some modern ones, among them the universal map of my Father master of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt, which is in my possession. He dedicated it to our Father San Ygnacio and to San Francisco Xavier, with this inscription: *de Universo Terrarum Orbe Opime Meritis.*[488]

And if some hostile and obstinate persons should maintain that some Quiquima Indians say that farther west the sea still extends to the northwest, these Quiquimas speak of the other sea, on the opposite coast, and not of this our Sea of California, of which, as some call it Red Sea, we may say, because we have found this passage, *Aparuit terra arida, et in Mari Rubro via sine inpedimento,*[489] as says the Church on August 8, on the day of the saints who have the Gospel: *Euntes in mundum universum. Predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ.*[490]

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[487] See *ante*, pages 37-38, 106.

[488] "To the well deserving of the whole world." This reference is to Aygentler's map.

[489] "Dry land appeared, and in the Red Sea a way without hindrance" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7). A literal quotation except for collocation. The original is *Terra arida aparuit.*

[490] "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel unto every creature" (*Mark*, xvi, 15).

CHAPTER IX. LETTERS FROM IMPORTANT PERSONAGES IN REGARD TO THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, WHICH I RECEIVED ON MY RETURN FROM THIS JOURNEY INLAND

And just as in regard to all this, that most welcome letter of Your Reverence has been a very great consolation to me, likewise very refreshing and inspiring are various holy letters which yesterday, day of Our Lady of Sorrows, and the day before yesterday, I found and received at the pueblo of San Ygnacio. Two are from our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, two others from Father Provincial Francisco de Arteaga, others from other prominent fathers in Mexico, and others from other zealous fathers who, with their apostolic zeal, desired to come to these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions. One letter from our father general, dated May 15 of the past year 1701, begins with these words:

> With great comfort to myself I have read a letter of your Reverence, dated March 17, in which you tell me of the condition of those missions, and how gloriously the laborers of his divine Majesty are working in them. May He fill them with consolation and spiritual gifts. Already, on other occasions, I have charged the Father Provincial, and I now charge him anew, to watch over those missions with all care, sending workers to carry on that which has been begun with so great fervor and success, etc.

The second letter from our father general ends with these words:

> My Father, your Reverence is working there as an apostle, and since upon the works of such our Lord has vouchsafed His holy benediction, may His Majesty continue it for His own great glory, for the good of His souls, for our own consolation, and as a great crown for your Reverence, whom God preserve many years.

The father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, on the twenty-seventh of last September writes:

> I have received your Reverence's letter in which you inform me of the new journey inland in company with the Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, and I have rejoiced in what you have discovered, thanking your Reverence for the work, all of which has been effected by your good zeal; and I hope that by means of it that Pimería will at once assume the state and condition which I have so much desired, for it will contribute to the welfare of those poor souls, and to the credit of our Company as well, because those missions, once established, will become the support of California.

In the second letter, dated November 20, and in his own hand, his Reverence speaks thus:

> For the sake of the consolation which your Reverence will receive, I inform you that the Father Procurator, Bernardo Rolandegui, advises me that the king our Lord, may God preserve him, has granted six thousand *pesos* for California,[491] and that more shall be granted when it is needed. May the Lord increase it, and give your Reverence good health and strength, in order that all those missions may be promoted as I desire.

The father secretary, Pedro Ygnacio de Loyola, on September 27 writes thus:

> Fortunate your Reverence that you have such a field in which to exercise your holy zeal; and if perchance our Lord continue for us over here the *desiderare*,[492] we do not consider him under obligations for the *posse*,[493] for gladly I shall deprive myself of such happiness if God shall be better served in those lands by others than by me.

Father Rector Ambrosio Oddon, on October 9 writes that with a land route to California the easier communication will be a great convenience and will carry with it still greater advantages, especially when our Lord shall dispose that the intervening nations shall be reduced.

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[491] Early in 1702 three royal cédulas favoring California arrived in New Spain. Two, addressed to the Audiencia and the Bishop of Guadalajara, ordered the California missions encouraged by all means. The third, to the viceroy-archbishop, Juan de Ortega Montañez, ordered six thousand *pesos* a year given to the California missions, a report made on California, and that, if possible, two alms destined for the mainland be transferred to California (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 133).

[492] "To desire."

[493] "To be able."

All of which, my most beloved father visitor, Antonio Leal, I place at your Reverence's holy consideration, in order that with your paternal holy zeal you may aid us in securing help for so many souls and for so many nations, in particular because, thanks be to the Lord, there are already in this Pimeria some temporal means very conducive to this end, as your Reverence saw in your journey inland, although now there is much more.

CHAPTER X. TEMPORAL MEANS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS AND FOR THE TOTAL REDUCTION OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, WHICH HITHERTO HAS BEEN UNKNOWN

I. First, there are already many cattle, sheep and goats, and horses; for, although in the past year I have given more than seven hundred cattle to the four fathers who entered this Pimería,[494] I have for the other new conversions and missions which by the favor of heaven it may be desired to establish, more than three thousand five hundred more cattle; and some of them are already far inland, ninety leagues from here,[495] and by the divine grace they can pass with ease to the Californias, Upper and Lower, as a certain important person is pleased to name them, the latter being in twenty-six and the former in thirty and more degrees of latitude.

II. There are in this very fertile and rich Pimería, which already has five missions with five fathers, many fields of wheat, maize, beans, etc.; and it produces all sorts of vegetables, garden products, and fruit trees, as in Europe. There are already vines for Castilian wine for the missions, a watermill, pack trains, fields, oxen, lands, level roads, beautiful rivers, abundant pasturage, good timbers for buildings, and mineral lands.

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[494] See the four mentioned, *ante*, page 303.

[495] Those at Sonóita, for example.

III. Of these new nations almost all are composed of industrious, docile, affable, and very friendly Indians; and only in some remote parts are there some Indians somewhat more barbarous and uncivilized, because of never having seen civilized people in all their lives.

IV. The temperature of these lands, which extend from thirty degrees of latitude to thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four, etc., is similar to that of Mexico and the better part of Europe, without excessive heat or excessive cold.

V. With these means and with these new conversions it will be possible to trade by sea and land with other near-by and remote provinces, nations, and kingdoms, with Sonora, Hyaqui, Cinaloa, Culiacan, with all New Galicia, with New Biscay, with Moqui, with New Mexico, which will be able to come to join hands with these provinces of Sonora, and even with New France.

CHAPTER XI. ADVANTAGES WHICH MAY RESULT FROM THESE NEW CONVERSIONS TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA

I. First, with these new conversions the Catholic dominion of the royal crown of our very Catholic monarch Philip V, God preserve him, and our holy Roman Catholic Faith, will be extended.

II. Very extensive new lands, nations, rivers, seas, and people of this North America which hitherto have been unknown will be discovered and won; and, besides, thereby these Christian provinces will be more protected, safer, and more quiet.

III. Thereby will be removed the great errors and falsehoods imposed upon us by those who have delineated this North America with feigned things which do not exist, such as a crowned king whom they carried on a golden litter; a lake of quicksilver, and another of gold; a walled city with towers, etc.; the Kingdom of Axa; the pearls, amber, and corals of the Rio del Tizon, the Rio del Coral, and the Rio de Aganguchi, which they represent as emptying into this sea of California in thirty-five or thirty-six degrees, although this sea does not extend to that latitude; likewise the error of the Seven Cities, which some represent. Although at present they do not exist, ten years ago we saw some great houses at different places near the Rio Grande, whose structures, now fallen, indicate that they did exist a long time ago; and it is very possible that from them issued the people of Monte Suma, when they went to found the great City of Mexico.

IV. Since Father Mariano reprehends with reason those feigned grandeurs and riches, in particular when they wish to attribute them to the account of the Adelantado of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate,[496] we shall be able to make drawings and true cosmographic maps of all these new lands and nations, of this passage by land to California, as well as of the very large volumed, fertile, and very populous rivers which empty into the head of this sea, and of the harbors and bays of the opposite coast and Sea of the South, of Gran Quivira, of Gran Teguayo, and of the neighboring

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[496] See Zárate Sálmerón's account of the Oñate expedition, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 208-280. This account Zárate based on the diary of Francisco de Escobar, which contains fabulous tales which Zárate refrained from repeating. Of the still unpublished Escobar diary I have a copy.

Apachería, Moqui, etc. And as your Reverence, in the journey inland made two years ago with Señor Lieutenant Juan Mateo Manje, Father Francisco Gonzalvo, and me, which in going and returning was more than two hundred leagues, found these Pima nations, with some Opas and Cocomaricopas, already reduced to our friendship, so now the Yumas, Coanopas, Cutganes, Quiquimas, and many others to the north, northwest, and west are reduced, in this terra firma as well as in the neighboring California Alta; all of which lands combined are as large as all of Europe, and of the same climate and temperature.

Moreover, by the north, northeast, and east, can be found a road to Europe shorter by half than the one which we now use by way of Mexico and Vera Cruz; as also by the northwest and west one shall be able to go in time by land even very near to Japan, Great China, and Tartary; for the Strait of Anian, which authors place with such a variety of opinions, probably has no more foundation in fact than had this arm of the sea with which for us they incorrectly delineated California as an island. That route to Japan and Great China can be found by way of Cape Mendozino, and by the land of Yesso,[497] and by the land which they call Tierra de la Compañia, which by divine grace. with apostolic missionaries can become Land of the Company of Jesus.

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[497] From the middle of the seventeenth century a body of land lying north of Japan was known as Yeco, Yezo, or Jeso Land. In 1643 an expedition of the Dutch East India Company sailed past Jeso and discovered two of the Kuril Islands. One of these, designated as Company Land, was believed to be a part of the American coast. In regard to these lands there was much confusion for a century. After this, as a result of two expeditions sent out by Russia, "Alaska takes the place of Terra de Jeso on the maps; Company Land, State Island, and Gama Land are three of the Kuril Islands, but on some charts they still retain their old names" (Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850*, 130-131).

V. The China ship can have a port of call, as you have so much desired, on the opposite coast of California, where the many sick with scurvy which it is accustomed to bring will find relief. And it can have trade, very profitable for all, with the provinces of this Kingdom of New Biscay, for they told me seventeen years ago when I sailed in the Chinese ship from Matanchel to Acapulco that for a sheep they gladly gave an ivory tusk or a piece of China linen, which is usually forty *varas* long and which it is the custom to sell for a dollar a *vara*, because of the heavy freight charges entailed in carrying it by land from Mexico to these provinces of Sonora. And almost the same is true with respect to the other goods of this very rich Philippine galleon.

VI. We shall comply with what so Christianlike and so earnestly is charged upon us by the very Catholic *cédula* of May [1]4, 1686, which the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara gave me, inserted in a royal provision, when I was passing through that city on my return from California and coming to these new conversions. In that royal *cédula* his royal Majesty commands that with respect to the most essential point of the new conversions effort shall be made to make all haste possible as in a matter of chief concern to his royal Majesty, and a matter of conscience to him, just as to those of us who live nearest, and that the necessary expenses be not spared, because his royal Majesty recognizes that for all that is spent in those causes, so merciful, our Lord always returns to his royal crown very abundant and well known increase,"[498] which are the words of the royal *cédula*. And, indeed, we very plainly see that at the very same time that his royal Majesty, Don Carlos II,

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[498] The *cédula* is printed in this work, *ante*, page 108.

God preserve him, incurred the very great expense of the three ships for the conversion of California through Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, there were discovered very near to and opposite said conquest and conversion the great riches and mines of the mining camps which are commonly called Los Frayles, Alamos, and Guadalupe;[499] and the day of our Lady of Sorrows, day before yesterday, when I received the news of the six thousand *pesos* which his royal Majesty Philip V, God preserve him, gave to the new conversions of California, they gave me certain news of the treasure and rich mines which have just been discovered near here at Quisuani,[500] Aygame, San Cosme, etc., and very near to the new conversion or mission of San Francisco Xavier of the Pimas Cocomacaques of Pimeria Baxa.

VII. In this way even with very great good fortune and profit to ourselves, by divine grace, we will bring it about that, so many souls being converted, *fiat unus pastor, et unum ovile*,[501] and that all will help us to praise our most merciful God through all the blessed Eternity. All of which I commend very affectionately to the holy sacrifices and to the paternal, holy protection of your Reverence, whose life may our Lord preserve as I desire. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, April 8, 1702. Your Reverence's humble servant and subject.

Eusebio Francisco Kino.

And because some persons were of the opinion that it would be expedient that I should accompany this long letter with some certificate of the royal justice and that I should go to Mexico, the following was given me.

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[499] These places are south of the Mayo River, near latitude 27°.

[500] That Quisuani was attracting attention is evidenced by the fact that Manje, now alcalde mayor, was there at this time, as is shown on page 363, *post*.

[501] "And let there be one shepherd and one fold" (Compare *John*, x, 16: *et fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor*).

CHAPTER XII. CERTIFICATE OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR OF THIS PROVINCE, JUAN MATEO MANJE, IN REGARD TO THE LETTER AND REPORT OF FOUR SHEETS TO THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTONIO LEAL; AND IN REGARD TO THE JOURNEY INLAND AND THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

"In this mining camp of Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Quisuani, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, 1702, I, Captain Juan Matheo Manxe, alcalde mayor and captain in war in this province of Sonora and its jurisdictions for his Majesty, certify and attest in so far as I ought and is in my power, and so far as there is authority in law, that the relation in the letter and the above signature are those of the Reverend Father Euzevio Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus, first minister and missionary of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of the Pima nation, whom I have known for nine years in this region, for I have accompanied him on various explorations and journeys inland which I have made with his Reverence, travelling in each of them more than two hundred or three hundred leagues, which together make the aggregate of three thousand one hundred leagues which I have travelled with his Reverence in these explorations, as more fully appears in the daily itineraries and relations which the Father, on his part, as well as I have made. In this work, on some occasions I bore the commission of deputy alcalde mayor and captain in war, and on others that of commander of some soldiers and citizens, the former being some of those in charge of Don Domingo Jironsa Petris de Crusate, and the citizens going at the cost and maintenance of the said Father.

"And I know as an eye-witness that he has brought about the progress in the reduction to obedience to his

Majesty of the said Pima nation, which is composed of more than sixteen thousand persons, enumerated by my hand, settled on very good rich rivers and fertile lands of arable soil, where there have been newly founded four missions, besides the first one, whose lands border on the arm of the Sea of California, which I have reached and seen at three distinct places, in various altitudes of the north pole. In that of twenty-eight degrees I have seen and accurately observed with mathematical instruments that the said arm is not more than twenty-six leagues wide, and at the latitude of thirty-two degrees only twenty leagues wide, while in that of thirty-one degrees,[501a] where I saw it the last time, it has only the inconsiderable width of twelve leagues. These measurements and observations testify that the farther one follows the said arm of the sea to the northwest, the narrower it becomes. And in order to find out if it ended higher up to the northwest, the said Father Euzevio Fransisco Kino set out on the journey inland to which reference is made; and his Reverence informed me with candor that he was at the head of the said arm of the sea and saw that the land of Pimeria joined with California, asserting confidently that it is a peninsula. As to his Reverence's statement to the effect that he is a founder of ranches of cattle, sheep and goats, and horses, I am an eye-witness to the fact, from having seen them. As to the rest, in regard to the riches and the crowned king and the other things with which he concluded, I have not witnessed them and therefore cannot certify to them here with the verisimilitude which the case requires; but I do assert confidently that the relation is by a zealous minister to whom entire credit has been given, as I stated above. And in order that it may receive the credence which it deserves, I have given the present on petition of the said reverend father, officiating as receiving judge, with the assisting witnesses, there being no public or royal notary. It is written on common paper, for stamped paper is not in fashion here, paper being furnished by the ordinary justice of the mines and provinces. Attest.

[501a] Evidently the latitudes are interchanged here through some error.

JUAN MATHEO MANJE."

"Witnesses: JOSEPH HORTEGAS CHUMAZERO.
NICOLAS DE LA TORRE."

CHAPTER XIII. OTHER LETTERS FROM DIFFERENT PERSONS IN REGARD TO THIS JOURNEY INLAND AND TO THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

Many persons, especially those well disposed to these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions, wrote of the great satisfaction which they had received from the reports of this long journey inland, and their very sympathetic letters were very edifying, being so zealous in the service of God and the King; while others less well disposed emphasized their doubts and objected that still, perhaps, there might be this or that difficulty.

The Señor alcalde mayor, and Generals Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña and Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, and others, soon manifested very clearly their very good and Catholic zeal. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, on April 15 wrote me the following:

> I received one letter from your Reverence, but the others which your Reverence mentions have not come. It was received with pleasure as great as my depression had been before its arrival because of the bad news which had been current to the effect that your Reverence had been drowned, in consequence of which I had already said the masses. May God preserve your Reverence for us many years. I greatly rejoice that certainty in regard to the mainland has now been estab-

> lished, as your Reverence writes, although this impediment of the river is very considerable.
>
> It is a busy day, and there is time only to give your Reverence Easter greetings. May you spend it happily.

Thus far the father visitor. The father rector of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, wrote me the same, that is, that his Reverence had chanted requiem masses for Father Rector Manuel Gonzales and me, because of the rumor which had been current that we with all our people had been killed. Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, although the long relation of this journey inland which I sent to his Reverence was lost, wrote me two very tender and sympathetic letters in regard to the matter. The first, dated September 21, was in these words:

> Your Reverence's letter dated April 17 I received on June 22, after having passed two months of great hunger, altogether lacking bread and tortillas, and being reduced to lean meat, because of the drought, as a consequence of which I am very thin. The launch *San Xavier*, for now no other boat is left to us, was absent, so that I could not answer your Reverence's letter. But God consoled us in the midst of our toils, for the launch having arrived, since coming with the southwest winds from Hyaqui she was able to make this bay, landed at La Concepción, and the last time she put in there seeking water the Indians searched out for them a river which empties into the sea and which is next to the bay, in the point between it and Las Virgenes. They entered the river with the sea canoe, secured their water supply, and returned with the good news, which we did not believe could be true, because no river had been found since Cortés entered. God grant that we may go there, though it is impossible at present, because there is no vessel, and no news of Father Francisco Maria Picolo, except that by the end of May he had collected nothing.
>
> If the father does not arrive within the next twenty days we shall look for him no longer, as we have only the little launch, which for five years has not been thoroughly careened.

In such distress as we are in, for our necessities are extreme, your Reverence can understand the gratitude we feel toward you for the constancy which you manifest in aiding us, and God will recompense your Reverence therefor. We have also been engaged in a troublesome war in the direction of the mountains,[502] but it now appears that matters are being righted. I appreciate very much also the flour with which your Reverence has aided us; and I say *salva nos, perimus,*[503] for this time we are perishing in very truth, especially since we have lost the great benefactor, Father Manuel Gonzales, whose death is glorious and to be much envied by the sons of the Company. Since his death none but your Reverence remains, and so again I say *perimus.*[504] May the will of God be done in everything; and accept, your Reverence, warm greetings from Father Juan de Ugarte. With this I close, commending myself to your holy prayers and holy sacrifices. September 21, 1702. Your Reverence's servant in Christ.

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

His Reverence adds the following:

I dispatch this on the nineteenth of October, and still we know nothing of Father Francisco Maria Piccolo, having received no consignment of supplies, and being utterly at sea. Live Jesus! live Mary! It is more than a year since I have seen the handwriting of the father visitor of Sonora, and I do not know why, unless the letters are lost; nor have I received the relation which your Reverence mentions, though I desire it, as I rejoice in the compendious reports of your glorious toils in that last journey inland.

Thus far Father Rector Juan Maria in his letter of this year. Soon I shall insert the one which his Reverence wrote me the following year, touching the continuance of these journeys inland until we should meet in California. But as in the autumn of this year and the following spring my journeys inland were prevented, I applied myself here to the building of two good churches in my second and third pueblos, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospera, both of which were finished happily, thank God, and were dedicated in the middle of January, 1704, as shall be related in the proper place. The zealous, holy letter of Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra dated March 3, 1703, to the effect that because the disputed passage was and is so certain that no opposition should be made thereto, although God orders what is for the best, is as follows:

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[502] This rebellion in California is described by Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 133.

[503] "Save us; we perish" (Compare *Matthew*, viii, 25; *Domine, salva nos; perimus!*)

[504] "We perish."

> I received your Reverence's letter, accompanied by the map of the discovery of the landlocked strait, which has been so much disputed that I have been no little depressed. But all things for the glory of God have begun thus. Hence there is no reason to be discouraged, but rather to try well to arrange with the superiors for another journey, by which this truth shall be ascertained, this time with evidence. Your Reverence has already gone far, in order now, once for all, to remove this doubt from everybody. But you have still to plan for the rest, and all the means and proper arrangements to go provided with flour, maize, *pinole*, and all the other little regalements which you know to be conducive to success, in order to succeed once for all with God's work, and not be compelled to return only to argue more and more. Finally, your Reverence sees how important it is that you consult in regard to the necessary means with some person informed relative to the matter of taking or not some armed men, so as to be able to stay with them one or two months at a place where the animals may recuperate, without fear that the Indians will make way with the food. This done, the host of new map makers will be silenced, but they are not going to be silenced until they are completely done for.
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> I very much appreciate your Reverence's charity in aiding us, especially in such abundance, in sending the ten loaded mules to Hyaqui, a distance so great that you shame me, seeing how much you do for these your missions, while I am so

useless that I can serve you in nothing except molestations and burdens. Accept, your Reverence, hearty greetings from all the fathers, grateful for your Reverence's goods and for your great charity, by means of which they will eat good bread. May God recompense your Reverence for it a thousand and millions of times. With this I close, commending myself to your prayers and holy sacrifices. Loreto Concho, March 3, 1703. Your Reverence's servant in Christ.[508]

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

As I did not bring it about with this letter, either, that I should be permitted to go to continue a discovery so much desired, because it was said that I should be needed in my districts, etc., I continued with more application and with all care in the building of my two churches; and God willed that many natives should come from distant lands and nations to see me.

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[508] Ortega alludes to this letter in discussing Kino's work, on page 306 of the *Apostólicos Afanes.*

BOOK V. THE COMING OF INDIANS FROM REMOTE PARTS WITH MESSAGES FROM VERY DISTANT NATIONS BORDERING ON CALIFORNIA ALTA AND LIVING ON THE LAND ROUTE TO IT, ALL OF WHOM ASK FOR FATHERS AND HOLY BAPTISM. EFFORTS ARE MADE TO GO TO MEXICO TO SOLICIT THE COMING OF THE NECESSARY FATHERS

CHAPTER I. THE GOVERNOR OF SAN MARCELO DEL SONOYDAG, WITH OTHER JUSTICES, COMES NINETY LEAGUES' JOURNEY TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES TO SOLICIT FATHERS AND HOLY BAPTISM FOR HIS PIMA PEOPLE AND FOR THE YUMA AND QUIQUIMA NATIONS

With the last journey inland, made in the past months of February, March, and April, of which I wrote in Book IV, preceding, the nations through whom Father Rector Manual Gonzales and I passed remained very well disposed to our holy faith, for they recognized that our long journeys were for the eternal salvation of all those people, especially as they knew that one father had given up his life,[508] and that the Quiquimas of California Alta, as well as the Yumas and others, had sent various messengers and runners with crosses sixty, seventy, and one hundred and more leagues to San

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[508] The reference is to the death of Father González on his return from the Colorado River.

Marcelo del Sonoydag to ask the governor of that incipient pueblo to come to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to seek fathers and holy baptism. Therefore, in August of this year, 1702, the governor of San Marcelo, with other justices and other heathen, came with some crosses to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and all asked me for the necessary fathers and holy baptism for themselves, for the Yuma and Quiquima nations, and for the others near-by. And when I said to the governor and the rest that it would be well for them to go to the Valley of Sonora to ask Father Visitor Antonio Leal for that great boon for their souls and those of the other nations, and that I would furnish them guides, interpreters, and a letter to his Reverence, they insinuated to me that they would be glad if I could go with them.

Thereupon, leaving other tasks, I set out with those poor souls,[807] and in three days we arrived at the pueblo of Guepaca,[808] after having passed through the valley and pueblo of the Real de Opodepe. Here one of the heathen in our following fell seriously ill, whereupon, catechising him, I baptized him and named him Antonio, in the charitable house of Señor Lieutenant Antonio Fernandez Villanueva y Ron. Arriving at the Valley of Sonora and its pueblo of Guepaca, we were welcomed with all kindness by the father visitor, Antonio Leal; and when the poor natives gave his Reverence the crosses and the messages of the very distant Yumas and Quiquimas, he comforted the poor Indians, saying that with all haste possible he would try to secure for them the fathers necessary for the eternal salvation of those who were asking it. With this consolation and with good hopes, we returned to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and the governor and the other justices returned to San Marzelo, sending the favorable responses to the Yumas and the Quiquimas.

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[807] Ortega summarizes this passage (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 308-309).

[808] Huepaca (Guepaca) is on the Rio de Sonora about thirty miles south of Arizpe.

CHAPTER II. HAPPY DEATH OF A RECENTLY BAPTIZED INDIAN

Having returned from the Valley of Sonora to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores by another and somewhat shorter road, we learned that Antonio, he who had recently been sick and baptized, had died in Opodepe. I wrote the news of his death and of our arrival to the father visitor, and his Reverence, on September 5, wrote me the following letter:

> I have felt great pleasure at seeing how our Lord has repaid at once the steps which the deceased Antonio took for the salvation of his people and himself, which I trust in God he has attained to and secured. I judge that it will be necessary to report it to the people of his nation, so that they will not suppose that we have detained him or that he has been killed, etc.

I gave this news not only to the neighboring but also to distant people, and to the relatives of the deceased, informing them in regard to the great blessing which one who before dying becomes a Christian by means of holy baptism receives. And not only did no one grieve at his death, but it was a comfort to them; and always with more anxiety the natives of this country of the northwest as well as the others in various other parts have asked and continue to ask for the blessing of eternal salvation for their souls, and for their bodies as well, for by means of holy baptism in due time they can obtain a glorious resurrection, never afterwards having to fear death, or to have any other illness, or toil, or misfortune.

CHAPTER III. OF TWO OTHER JOURNEYS INLAND WHICH I MADE TO THE WEST AND NORTH, LOOKING TO THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL WELFARE OF THE POOR NATIVES[509]

It had been some time since I had seen the children of the west and of the Soba nation, or the Sovaipuris of the north and of San Xavier del Bac; therefore I went in to work on the two churches of San Ambrocio del Busanic and Santa Gertrudes del Saric,[510] and began the large church of La Consepsión del Caborca, to the westward, and to look after its cattle, crops, and harvests of wheat and maize which they were tending for the fathers whom they hoped to receive. Also I went in as far as San Marzelo, whence, by the captain of El Comac, I sent wheat to sow at the Colorado River and in the Yuma and Quiquima nations, grain and seed which had never been seen or known there, to see if it would yield there as well as in those other fertile new lands; and it did yield and does yield very well. Afterwards I began also the very large church of San Xavier del Bac, among the Sovaipuris, distant about sixty leagues to the north of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And in all places there was a very rich and plentiful harvest of souls, so ripe that I as well as some other persons, zealous for the advancement of these new conquests and conversions, were of the opinion that it would be well if I should go to Mexico to try to secure the fathers so necessary for the salvation of so many souls.

On my return from these my peregrinations, I gave an account of them to the father visitor, Antonio Leal, and on November 3 his Reverence wrote me the following:

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[509] This chapter is summarized by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 309.

[510] Mis-printed as "Sayre" by Ortega, *ibid.*, 309.

> I thank your Reverence heartily for the great work which you are doing for the welfare of those poor souls. God will repay it. For the reports of supplies, crops, churches, sick people, etc., for everything, your Reverence will receive your reward in heaven. And I thank you also for the greetings of the children, and beg your Reverence that when you have an opportunity you will return them.

CHAPTER IV. LETTERS FROM THE FATHER VISITOR AND FROM THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR IN REGARD TO THE STATE OF THIS PIMERIA

The father visitor, Antonio Leal, in his letter to which I have just referred, continues with these words:

> Regarding your going to Mexico at this time, your Reverence will see that it will be better to await the coming of the new government, which must soon be here, for in the natural course of events it can be delayed but little longer, even though it or news of it do not come in the mail boat, but in the store ships instead. Moreover, fathers having been asked, as I have asked them, of the father provincial, we shall see in the first letters that come what his Reverence replies, although the difficulty will be in the matter of the alms. But I have no doubt that, with the reports, your Reverence will secure them, because talking face to face with the Señor viceroy is very different from writing. But the government, or news of it, can be very little delayed. As to the children who wish to come hither, your Reverence will please deter the poor people from coming so far, telling them that you have already written to me, that I thank them for their good aspirations, but that they must wait a little, and that God will console them, bringing fathers, etc.

In another letter which his Reverence wrote me three weeks later, he concludes with these words:

> Please do me the favor, your Reverence, to commend me to Captain Coro (whose Christian name was and is Antonio Leal), and to all the natives who have come from the interior

> and are there, consoling them with the hope which I entertain that God will aid them with fathers. And I pray Him to keep your Reverence for me, etc.

The Señor alcalde mayor of the province of Sonora, Juan Mateo Manje, who had been lieutenant of this Pimería, wrote me, almost at the same time as the father visitor, as follows:

> I note from the last letter the good state of Pimería, and the docility of the natives. For this I congratulate myself, because of the interest and the part which I have had in the maintenance of that Pimería, and because the ardent desires of your Reverence and myself are being fulfilled, and because of the pacification, which is due very largely to your great merit. And may God our Lord grant that in the future we may all succeed in a purpose directed to the welfare of those natives and to their eternal salvation, and that Infernal Chaos may be thwarted in his diabolical plans, and in the hindrances which he brings in his train; and may he go to dwell in the caverns of hell.

Thus far the very Catholic Señor alcalde mayor.

CHAPTER V. THERE IS DISCUSSION OF MY GOING TO MEXICO TO OBTAIN AND BRING FATHERS FOR THESE HARVESTS OF SOULS, SO EXTENSIVE AND SO RIPE, IN THIS PIMERIA AND IN OTHER NEIGHBORING NATIONS

The great lack of missionary fathers in these new conversions caused me and many other persons to consider whether I should go to Mexico to secure and bring the necessary fathers, especially because certain hopes had been current that in this autumn the procurators, Father Rolandegui and Father Vera, who had gone to Rome,[511] would arrive and that they would bring from Europe a numerous mission of zealous father workers. I reported this to the father visitor, Antonio Leal, by word of mouth and in writing, and soon his Reverence and many others became thoroughly convinced that I should go to Mexico.

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[511] It was these men who carried part I of Kino's *Favores Celestiales* to Rome. See *ante*, page 227.

And after having thanked me by word of mouth in Guepaca for my good intention, his Reverence wrote me a long letter, that I might show it to the new father visitor, of the new government, which was expected very soon, containing very strong arguments with which he demonstrated how very expedient it was that I should go to Mexico to speak face to face with the father provincial and the Señor viceroy, in order to obtain and bring the fathers and workers necessary for so ripe a harvest of so many souls that very anxiously were asking holy baptism, in this extensive Pimeria as well as in the surrounding nations, especially since his royal Majesty had already granted eight alms for eight fathers and eight missions in this Pimeria. Many other persons also considered it very important that I should go to Mexico for the above-stated end of obtaining and bringing missionary fathers. Nevertheless, I did not go to Mexico for the reasons which the next chapter will tell.

CHAPTER VI. MANY OTHERS, AND I ALSO, WERE OF THE OPINION, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE NEITHER THE NEW GOVERNMENT NOR THE MISSION OF EUROPEAN FATHERS HAD ARRIVED, THAT MY GOING TO MEXICO WAS NOT NECESSARY

Since the very notorious and injurious wars of all Europe prevented the usual vessels of the Spanish fleet from coming on time to this New Spain, neither could the new government of our Company come on time, nor the father procurators who had gone to Rome, nor the mission of missionary fathers which already had been granted and equipped in Seville. Consequently we changed our minds about my going to Mexico,"[512] and I tried to continue to advance things here as much as possible, in these three pueblos which I had under my charge, as well as in the other new pueblos farther in, to the north, northwest, and west, which were being prosperously founded. And in particular I tried to accomplish another long journey inland of more than three hundred, or about three hundred and twenty-five leagues, until by land I should reach Loreto Concho, where lived the reverend fathers of California, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, and the rest of the gentlemen, soldiers and citizens, etc. This all involved going one hundred and sixty leagues northwest to the Yumas and the Rio Grande, one hundred[513] more west to the Colorado River, and forty or fifty more southwest to the mouth of the said Colorado River and to the Quiquimas, as has been done in the past months with Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, and afterwards down that part of the way which alone remained, about one hundred and twenty-five leagues to the southwest, now on California soil and west of the Sea of the said California. This would have been a very easy task, and commerce by land with California would have been established, together with the conversion of many souls; but the heaven-appointed time must not have arrived, for my going, or expedition, or journey by land to California, Upper and Lower, was prevented, and I therefore tried to apply myself to other ministries and functions, likewise of our institute.

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[512] Ortega's explanation of Kino's not going to Mexico is based on this passage: "*Mas la consideración de hallarse en guerra Europa, suspendidas las Flotas, y detenidas las Missiones, hizo juzgar, que este viaje no podria producir el deseado efecto, y que quizá la ausencia del Padre ocasionaria mayores daños y atrassos*" (*Apostólicos, Afanes*, 309).

[513] Evidently a mis-copy for 10. In the Ms. the distances here are all given in Arabic numerals.

CHAPTER VII. THE BUILDING OF TWO GOOD SPACIOUS CHURCHES IN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUEBLOS OF MY ADMINISTRATION IN THIS PIMERIA

Because my going to Mexico, as well as to California, had been prevented, I applied myself to building with all possible efficacy and speed, so as to have this work more advanced, the two churches on which small beginnings had been made during the first five years of my entrance upon these new conversions, in my second and third pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And when the father visitor, Antonio Leal, saw this church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he said it was one of the best that he had seen in all the missions. Nevertheless, the other new ones which I undertook in the following months turned out even better, for they have transepts, etc. And in a little more than a year they were finished and were dedicated in the same week, in the middle of January, 1704, as shall be stated in its proper place.[314] After having commended all things to his divine Majesty and to our great patron of the new conversions, the glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, besides Jesus and Mary most holy, with their celestial favors, which, though unworthy, I am writing, I tried to have in the three pueblos of my administration (which are first, Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores, second, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and third, Santiago de Cocospora) sufficient provisions of maize, wheat, cattle, and clothing, or shop goods, such as cloth, sack cloth, blankets, and other fabrics, which are the currency that best serves in these new lands for the laborers, master carpenters, constables, military commanders, captains, and fiscals.

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[314] See volume ii, page 82.

In these months and the following I ordered the necessary wood cut for the pine framework, sills, flooring, etc. I went to the interior and brought more than seven hundred dollars' worth of clothing, tools and heavy ware and from other places I obtained more than three thousand dollars' worth, which shortly and with ease were paid for with the goods, provisions, and cattle of the three rich districts. I invited some men from the frontier[315] for the work on these buildings, and there came far and away more than I had asked for; and very especially, for entire months, the many inhabitants of the great new pueblo of San Francisco Xavier del Bac, which is sixty leagues distant to the north, worked and built on the three pueblos of this place and of my administration. In this way many adobes were made in the two pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago de Cocospora; and high and strong walls were made for two large and good churches, with their two spacious chapels, which form transepts, with good and pleasing arches. The timbers were brought from the neighboring mountains and pineries, and the two good buildings were roofed, and provided with cupolas, small lanterns, etc. I managed almost all the year to go nearly every week through the three pueblos, looking after both spiritual and temporal things, and the rebuilding of the two above-mentioned new churches.

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[315] He means Indians from the frontier.